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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous.

The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute.

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the sphere of culture.

Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

* * *

Two Poems

by

Mao Tse-tung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, January 1, 1976)

Chingkangshan Revisited

- to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou

May 1965

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

Two Birds: A Dialogue

- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao

Autumn 1965

The roc wings fanwise,
Soaring ninety thousand li
And rousing a raging cyclone.
The blue sky on his back, he looks down
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.
Gunfire licks the heavens,
Shells pit the earth.
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
"This is one hell of a mess!
O I want to flit and fly away."

"Where, may I ask?"
The sparrow replies,
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.
Don't you know a triple pact was signed
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?
There'll be plenty to eat,
Potatoes piping hot
With beef thrown in."*
"Stop your windy nonsense!
Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

- Originally published in the January 1976
issue of the journal Shih-k'an /Poetry/

* * *

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* This refers to "goulash."

Nothing Is Hard in This World If You Dare To Scale the Heights

- 1976 New Year's Day editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, January 1, 1976)

Nineteen seventy-six has arrived. Today witnesses the publication of two poems written by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1965: "Chingkangshan Revisited -- to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao." Through artistic images which splendidly combine revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, these two brilliant works describe the excellent situation at home and abroad in which "the world is being turned upside down" and "past scenes are transformed"; they hail the heroism of the revolutionary people who "can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas"; they set forth the historical law that Marxism-Leninism is sure to prevail while revisionism is bound to fail. The publication of these two poems of Chairman Mao's is an event of great political and immediate significance and a great inspiration to the people throughout the country. As we stride into the new year reading Chairman Mao's poems and surveying our vast country and the revolutionary storms around the world, we are full of emotion and pride and are all the more confident of winning new victories.

Look! "Orioles sing, swallows swirl .... everywhere." Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel Water Margin, our Party is full of vigor, our people are in high spirits, our country is flourishing, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is stronger than ever. New socialist things are blooming in profusion throughout our country. The masses of the people of all nationalities are perseveringly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; they are deepening their understanding of classes, class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in socialist society and their awareness of the need to restrict bourgeois rights and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young has invigorated leading bodies at all levels, and millions of successors to the cause of proletarian revolution are tempering themselves in accordance with the five requirements set by Chairman Mao. The revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works has resulted in an efflorescence of creative work in socialist literature and art. The revolution in education is advancing in struggle in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, and gratifying results have been achieved in the efforts to transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. The revolution in health work is overcoming the rural shortage of doctors and medicines, barefoot doctors are steadily maturing, and the cooperative medical system has become more consolidated. By entering May 7 cadre schools, going down to do manual labor and studying afresh, large numbers of cadres have increased their awareness of the need to continue the revolution and regained their revolutionary youthfulness. More than ten million school graduates have gone to the vast countryside where they are persevering in the

revolution and growing sturdily. The entry of the working class into institutions of higher education, middle and primary schools and other organizations in the superstructure has put an end to the domination of these organizations by bourgeois intellectuals. The formation and growth of theoretical contingents of workers, peasants and soldiers are pushing the socialist revolution forward on the ideological and cultural fronts. The mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is actively progressing. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused and a million cadres have gone to the agricultural front line. The revolutionary drive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country is surging ahead. China has had good harvests for 14 years running. The mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry is developing in depth, giving fuller play to the revolutionary spirit of independence and self-reliance and increasing industrial production beyond previous levels. Professional scientific and technical personnel are integrating themselves with workers and peasants and doing scientific research in an open-door way, a man-made earth satellite has been recovered, and science has made further progress. The target for gross industrial and agricultural output set in the Fourth Five-Year Plan has been successfully met. In our country prices are stable, the market is brisk, and people's living standards have been rising steadily.

All this is a forceful refutation of the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past." All this represents a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the country should in the new year adhere to the Party's basic line, conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take class struggle as the key link, continue to implement Chairman Mao's important instructions, advance the socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure, promote stability and unity, accelerate the development of socialist agriculture and industry and the entire economy, and strive to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Never forget classes and class struggle."

Recently Chairman Mao has again taught us: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

Taking class struggle as the key link -- this has been Chairman Mao's fundamental theory and practice in leading our Party in carrying out the socialist revolution over the past 20 years and more. As Chairman Mao pointed out once again in 1965 when criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so." Many years of historical experience show that negating or revising the principle of taking class struggle as the key link is bound to lead to mistakes in theory

and practice. The struggle between the two lines -- to practice Marxism or to practice revisionism -- is the reflection within the Party of the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. The recent farrago on the educational front, representing a Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts, is a conspicuous manifestation of the revisionist line that stands against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This shows once again that class struggle is long and tortuous and at times very acute in socialist society. We should remain sober-minded, persevere in our proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and never for a moment forget the key link, class struggle. Only when the key link is grasped will everything fall into place. In criticizing the eclectic view that puts politics on a par with economics, Lenin said: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism." What is politics? Lenin said: "Politics means a struggle between classes." If one forgets the key link, class struggle, one will be a blind, half-baked and muddle-headed revolutionary and depart from the socialist orientation.

How to assess the great proletarian cultural revolution -- this is a concentrated reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Both the 9th and 10th Congresses of the Party definitively appraised the great proletarian cultural revolution. To approve or negate this great revolution is in essence a struggle between continuing the revolution on the one hand and restoration and regression on the other. This struggle will go on for a long time. Our cadres must continue to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry on criticism of the novel Water Margin, restudy Chairman Mao's instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution, gain a deep understanding of the fact that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a deep understanding of these two classes and the class struggle between them and of the character, target, task and prospects of the socialist revolution, and consciously grasp the Party's basic line and policies for the historical period of socialism. Only thus can one have a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and oneself. It is essential to go on criticizing the counter-reolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and of Lin Piao, capitalist tendencies and the ideology of bourgeois rights and to defend and develop the fruits of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

A correct attitude toward this revolution calls for a correct attitude toward the new things that have emerged under socialism. New socialist things are the fresh fruits of the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. They are the great and vital inventions of hundreds of millions of people. They restrict bourgeois rights in all spheres and reflect the trend of historical development -- socialism and communism will inevitably replace capitalism. Chairman Mao has said: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow"; "The masses are the real heroes." Every member of the Communist Party and every revolutionary must fervently support new revolutionary things. It should be noted that new things have to go through a process of development and that they are liable to have certain shortcomings. One should adopt a positive attitude toward them and take measures to perfect them on the basis of fully affirming their achievements. In no way should one

behave like a bourgeois lord, peremptorily denounce them and pour cold water on them. Still less should one follow the handful of hostile people who have ulterior motives in their attempts to strangle new things. We should take class struggle as the key link and continue to do a good job in carrying out the revolution in education, in literature and art and in health work, and in conducting struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." 1976 is the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of our national economy; efforts should be made to fulfill and overfulfill the state plan. It is essential to persist in building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, continue to carry out the principle of "Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war," go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and push the national economy forward. We must continue to deepen the mass movement "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" and, with the whole Party taking part in a tremendous effort to develop agriculture, strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. We must adhere to the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, continue to deepen the mass movement "In industry, learn from Tach'ing" and take our own path of industrial development. Whether in industry, agriculture or any other field of work, it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link, rely on the masses, conduct investigations and studies, sum up experience and do a good job in grasping typical cases.

Leadership by the Party is the basic guarantee for the victory of our cause. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership, pay close attention to study, educate and train cadres, and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and principles and policies. The great debate on the educational front should be conducted under the leadership of Party committees at various levels; no "fighting groups" should be organized. A strict distinction should be made between the two types of contradictions which differ in nature and they should be handled correctly. Major issues of right and wrong in the two-line struggle should be settled through debate so as to achieve clarity in ideology and draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. With regard to comrades who have made mistakes, we should follow the policy "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient," basing ourselves on the formula "unity--criticism and self-criticism--unity." We should continue to pay attention to the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we should unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, unite with all the forces that can be united with, mobilize all positive factors and do our work in every field still better.

The current international situation is excellent, there is great disorder under heaven. All the basic contradictions in the world are daily sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing. Phoney "goulash" communism has gone bankrupt. The Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in various countries are growing stronger in the struggle against modern revisionism. The countries and people of the third world

have been playing their role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and great-power hegemonism. The contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is intensifying; strategically Europe is the focus of their contention. Soviet social-imperialism, which is "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west" and most energetically playing the fraudulent game of "detente," is precisely the most dangerous source of war today. We must heighten our vigilance and be prepared against war. We must continue to carry out the strategic principles advanced by Chairman Mao: "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony"; "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." The People's Liberation Army and the masses of militiamen should carry forward their glorious revolutionary traditions, strengthen preparedness against war, train hard, be strict with themselves and always be ready to wipe out any invading enemy. We are determined to liberate Taiwan Province, our sacred territory.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Chairman Mao's brilliant verses show the bright and magnificent prospects before us and the tortuous struggle we have to go through on our way forward. They will guide us in breaking through brambles and thorns and in advancing courageously along the great road of continuing the revolution. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, we are sure to overcome all difficulties and hazards and win still greater victories in the new year.

* * *

Firmly Grasp Class Struggle as the Key Link

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Hung-ch'i/, No. 1, January 1, 1976)

Chairman Mao taught us once again recently: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." We should profoundly comprehend Chairman Mao's teaching and restudy his consistent instructions on this question over the years. We should criticize and repudiate the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and oppose all erroneous tendencies ignoring class struggle. We should conscientiously implement the Party's basic line, grasp the key link, class struggle,and do all our work better in order to win still greater victories.

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1965 when criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so." The history of our country over the past 20 years and more since entering the period of socialist revolution is a history of Chairman Mao leading us to wage continuous class struggle against the borugeoisie, a history of class struggle pushing our society forward. The struggle between the two classes and two roads is the fundamental theory and practice of our Party. We should continue to sum up the practical experience of class struggle in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly grasp the key link, class struggle. We will then continue to win new victories in the socialist cause.

In undertaking the socialist cause, whether or not one persists in taking class struggle as the key link, in the final analysis, depends on whether or not one recognizes the continued existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle under socialist conditions, and whether or not one recognizes the need to persistently exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie throughout the historical period of socialism. This question is always the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism both at home and abroad, an important mark separating genuine Marxism from false. To review our struggle against revisionist chieftains within the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao will enable us to gain a clearer understanding of this question.

At the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, convened on the eve of the establishment of the PRC, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that after the victory of the new democratic revolution the principal contradiction at home was the "contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." At the same time, he reminded us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly." Chairman Mao laid down the principles and

policies for our struggle against the bourgeoisie, and emphasized the need to guard against the appearance of persons within the Party who were hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. He pointed out the direction for us to carry on the socialist revolution. However, the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i vigorously harped on a discordant tune. Behind the back of the Party Central Committee and without regard to the resolution of the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, he claimed everywhere that the bourgeoisie "has won merit in exploiting" the working class. He also called for "consolidating the new democratic order." The fallacies of negating class struggle and opposing socialist revolution that Liu Shao-ch'i advocated were promptly criticized and resisted by Chairman Mao. The whole Party and the people throughout the country, under Chairman Mao's leadership, carried out a large-scale movement to suppress counter-revolution and the "three-antis" /corruption, waste and bureaucracy/ and "five-antis" /bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation/movements, striking at the counter-revolutionaries, repulsing the frenzied attacks by the bourgeoisie, insuring the victory of resisting US aggression and aiding Korea, and quickly rehabilitating the national economy. Then, under the guidance of the general line for the transitional period, we smashed the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, struggled against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, victoriously carried out the movement to eliminate counter-revolutionaries, and initiated the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. In coordination with the socialist transformation and beginning with exposing the film of national betrayal "The Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court" (criticism of which was withheld by Liu Shao-ch'i and company at that time) and the criticism of the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsün," we carried out a series of struggles against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere, criticized bourgeois idealism, and struck at the revisionists who claimed to "have mastered Marxism" but who actually surrendered to bourgeois ideology. All these victories were won by firmly grasping the struggle between the two classes and two roads as the key link under Chairman Mao's leadership.

Following the great victory in the socialist transformation in respect to the ownership of the means of production throughout the country, a debate was again held between the Marxists on the one side and revisionists on the other over the question whether classes and class struggle still existed and whether the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was still the principal internal contradiction. Liu Shao-ch'i and company alleged nonsensically: "The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically solved," and the principal internal contradiction "is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." This revisionist fallacy was immediately criticized sharply by Chairman Mao. In 1957, criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacy, Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle, and pointed out explicitly: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership," "yet, remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes still exist, the bourgeoisie still exists, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and

the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." As the struggle against bourgeois rightists shortly afterward proved, Chairman Mao's thesis was entirely correct. After victory in this struggle was won, people by the hundreds of millions criticized the doctrines of slavish comprador philosophy and of trailing behind at a snail's pace under the guidance of Chairman Mao's general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." The great leap forward and the movement to establish people's communes appeared in 1958, and our socialist cause took a large stride forward.

However, the struggle was by no means over. At the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, held at Lushan in August 1959, the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique came forward to attack the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune. As Chairman Mao pointed out, this struggle was essentially "a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the course of socialist revolution over the past decade." According to the experiences of this struggle and many others in the past, Chairman Mao taught us again: "It appears that, in China and our Party, this kind of struggle will continue for at least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will not cease until classes die out completely." Later, taking advantage of temporary economic difficulties resulting from three years of natural disasters and the action of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in tearing up the contracts and withdrawing its experts, Liu Shao-ch'i and company opposed Chairman Mao's correct line, went all out to advocate that "industry must retreat far enough, and so must agriculture," and openly put forward and implemented the revisionist line of San Tzu I Pao. Perceiving the danger of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, at the CCP CC Work Conference in January 1962 Chairman Mao called it to the attention of some comrades and brought up the need to guard against the appearance of revisionism. Moreover, both at the Peitaiho CCP CC Work Conference in August and the 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September of the same year, he issued the great call to the whole Party: "Never forget classes and class struggle." He pointed out that socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In this historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. He set forth more comprehensively the basic line for our Party in the entire historical period of socialism and instructed us to "remind ourselves of it every year, every month and every day." In May 1963, Chairman Mao again warned the Party further: If we forgot classes and class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or over a decade or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color." Thus, Chairman Mao took the question of whether or not to grasp class struggle and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat as a cardinal issue bearing on the future and destiny of the Party and the state.

As it is always the case, the more the proletariat wants to grasp class struggle firmly, the more the representatives of the bourgeoisie who attack the proletariat want to deny class contradictions hypocritically. When a large-scale socialist education movement was launched in town and countryside across the land in accordance with the Party's basic line, Liu Shao-ch'i again came forward and alleged absurdly that the principal contradiction in the countryside was the "contradiction between the four clean-ups /in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy/ and the four uncleans," and was the "interlocking of contradictions inside and outside the Party" This was a vain attempt to change the orientation of the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao promptly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's farrago, upheld the correct thesis that the principal contradiction in the period of socialism was the struggle between the two classes and two roads, and pointed out explicitly: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road," namely, agents of the bourgeoisie in the Communist Party. This insured the healthy development of the socialist education movement. In its decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, i.e., the "16-point resolution," the CCP Central Committee once more cited this thesis of Chairman Mao's and laid down various policies with a view to implementing it. Granted that we profoundly understand the protracted nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in socialist society, we will recognize the tremendous significance of Chairman Mao's scientific analysis in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. When this great revolution had just started, Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, illegally using the name of the Party Central Committee, dished up the "February Outline" to the whole Party. Using the most hypocritical phrases, it obscured the acute class struggle on the then ideological and cultural fronts. It set forth the bourgeois slogan "Everyone is equal before truth" in a vain attempt to lead the life-and-death political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to what was called "purely academic discussion." The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao promptly exposed their plot and led the whole Party and the people of the whole country to destroy Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters through a repeated and tortuous struggle. Then came the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. The political report drafted by Lin Piao in collusion with Ch'en Po-ta for delivery at the Ninth Party Congress held that the main post-congress task was to develop production, a view which was similar to the fallacy Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta inserted into the resolution of the Eighth Party Congress without Chairman Mao's knowledge. This report was of course rejected by the Party Central Committee. The Ninth Party Congress fully confirmed the basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party in the entire historical period of socialism. After the Ninth Party Congress, we unfolded the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, winning the great victory in smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. The 10th Party Congress summed up our Party's struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and again confirmed our Party's basic line. In the past 2 years or so since the 10th

Party Congress, Chairman Mao has led us to continue taking class struggle as the key link, in carrying out in-depth the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, unfolding criticism of Water Margin, a teaching material by negative example advocating capitulationism, and conducting a big debate on the educational revolution, thus winning great victories on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts.

"Historical experience merits attention." The road we have traveled over the past 20 years and more shows that whether or not one wants to persistently take class struggle as the key link, vigorously carry out the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, carry on the socialist revolution on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of fundamental importance concerning whether one practices Marxism or revisionism. The revisionist chieftains within the Party, such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, went all out to advocate the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and to obscure the differences between socialism and capitalism and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In so doing, they did not in the least want to have class struggle "die out" but to benumb the proletariat and the revolutionary people ideologically and oppose the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie in an attempt to achieve their criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. We must never forget historical experience in this respect. Under no circumstances can we lower our guard and forget classes, class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the current excellent situation, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines still exists. The erroneous trend of thought that appeared in society sometime ago and that rejected the great proletarian cultural revolution, the new socialist things and the proletarian revolution in education is a concentrated reflection of this struggle. The great victories we have won since the great proletarian cultural revolution are undoubtedly crushing defeats for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. They will certainly not take their defeat lying down. They will always look for a chance to counter-attack in revenge in an attempt to reserve the verdicts passed by the great proletarian cultural revolution. And when they stir up the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts and toss out the revisionist farrago in the educational circles, the proletariat and the revolutionary people must of course wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them. This is logical. "Mistakes must be corrected and poisonous weeds uprooted." We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and unfold an active struggle under leadership, step by step and in line with Chairman Mao's teachings. Under the Party's leadership, we must continue to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and the erroneous views and trends that run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the educational front. At the same time, we must, in the course of struggle, strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, unite with more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, and consolidate and develop the remarkable achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The great debate on the educational front should be conducted under the leadership of Party committees at various levels; "fighting groups" should be organized.

In our socialist society, all social phenomena have definite class content. There is no idea which is not stamped with the brand of a class. Contradictions in all fields of work are subordinate to the main contradiction--that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie regulates or influences the existence and development of other contradictions. There is no work which exists in isolation from class struggle. Therefore, no matter what we do, we must pay attention to the key link, for once the key link is grasped, everything falls into place. In the various fields such as culture and education, literature and art, science and public health, the main contradiction remains the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. In these fields there is always a question of political orientation for work, that is, the question of whether it is necessary to serve proletarian politics and exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in these fields. The debate that is going on on the educational front involves many issues such as the educational system, the principles and methods of teaching, but the most basic issue is still whether or not we should carry out a revolution in education and turn schools into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat and centers for training laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture. This boils down to the question of who dictates whom in the realm of education, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Such is the essence of the debate. By grasping the essence, we will be able to hit at the farrago where it hurts most. To push the national economy forward, we must first of all help the various sectors of the national economy truly forge ahead along the socialist path. In learning from Tachai in agriculture and Tach'ing in industry, the most fundamental issue is to do a good job in learning from their main experiences, grasp class and line struggles, adhere to the socialist orientation, and take the socialist road. Only when the problem of orientation and road is solved is it possible to bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and cadres, fully develop the revolutionary zeal of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and rapidly develop production. If this problem is not solved, it will be impossible for proletarian uprightness to prevail over bourgeois wickedness, it will be difficult to criticize capitalist trash, the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses and cadres will be suppressed, and the development of production will be impeded. To grasp revolution and promote production gives concrete expression to our policy of taking class struggle as the key link in developing production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must firmly uphold this correct policy.

To take class struggle as the key link, we must persistently adhere to the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddleheaded revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer." Studying this teaching of Chairman Mao's is of vital and immediate significance. All the work we are doing now is based upon specific guidelines and policies. All these guidelines and policies subordinate themselves to a general program: The Party's basic

line, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without this general program, no specific guideline or policy can be carried out successfully, and if it is carried out, errors may occur. Some comrades cannot correctly deal with the great proletarian cultural revolution and new socialist things and have made some mistakes largely because they have departed from the Party's basic line and failed to observe and analyze problems from the viewpoint of classes and class struggle. We must always see to it that our thinking and action are at all times guided by the Party's basic line.

To firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, it is necessary to conscientiously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. On the basis of the progress we made last year, we must achieve further progress. It is only when we truly comprehend the theory of proletarian dictatorship, correctly understand classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period as well as the nature, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution, and realize why we must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie that we can consciously implement the Party's basic line and correctly handle the relationship between the key link and everything else. Only thus can we correctly deal with the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses, and ourselves and support those new socialist things that help restrict bourgeois rights. While we must achieve stability and unity, we do not write off class struggle, and stability and unity must be achieved by correctly developing class struggle and correctly handling the two different types of contradictions under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. While we strive to push the national economy forward, that also does not mean we do not need class struggle, because without taking class struggle as the key link, it will be impossible to develop the national economy along a correct path. The idea and practice which deny class struggle as the key link and ignore or relax the study and practice of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat are entirely wrong, because they invariably reject the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as the principal contradiction and put politics on a par with economics and vocational competence. Running counter to the Marxist-Leninist principle that "politics is the concentrated expression of economics" and "politics must take precedence over economics," they are incompatible with Chairman Mao's teachings.

So long as we, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, firmly grasp class struggle as they key link, conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our socialist cause will surely gain new and still greater victories.

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Uphold the Party's Basic Line

- Study "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"

by

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Chairman Mao's great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" is a strong ideological weapon which guides the proletariat and revolutionary people in carrying out socialist revolution and construction, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing capitalist restoration. In this work, Chairman Mao makes a penetrating analysis of the fundamental contradictions in socialist society, pointing out that after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle as well as the two different types of contradictions--those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. He also puts forward a complete theory, principles and policies for the correct handling of these contradictions. In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, re-studying this brilliant work in light of the actual condition of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is of great immediate significance for thoroughly criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, raising our consciousness in implementing the Party's basic line, and for persevering in taking class struggle as the key link to insure satisfactory performance of all kinds of work.

Chairman Mao points out in "On Contradiction": "There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions." Whether in the process of leading the new democratic revolution or the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao has repeatedly instructed the whole Party to correctly recognize and solve the principal contradiction at this stage of revolution. As early as in March 1949, at the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly that, after the proletariat had seized political power throughout the country, the principal contradiction in the country was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." After a penetrating analysis of the content and form of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao put forward a complete line and policies for our Party to transform the new democratic revolution to socialist revolution. Proceeding from this principal contradiction in the stage of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao personally formulated the Party's general line for the transition period. Illuminated by this general line, we won in a short span of several years great nationwide victories in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce, thereby transforming the individual economy into a collective economy and capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership.

After the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country faced a new problem: What is the principal contradiction in our country? Do classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist? Is it necessary to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue the socialist revolution? This is a problem of great import that concerns the future of revolution and the fate of our country. Based on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao penetratingly summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat on both the positive and negative sides and for the first time provided scientific and systematic answers to these questions. In this splendid work Chairman Mao points out: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership," "there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." This shows very clearly that the view that classes will vanish upon basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is entirely wrong; that in the historical stage of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle will still go on for a long time; and that the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is still the principal contradiction in socialist society. Class struggle in our country and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique--this fact eloquently proves how wise these assertions of Chairman Mao's are!

Chairman Mao makes his analysis of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society on the basis of the fundamental principle of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. He points out in this work: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." "Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base." "We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions." Here Chairman Mao clearly indicates that the law of the unity of opposites is not only the fundamental law which operates universally in nature, in human society and in man's thinking, but also the fundamental law of socialist society. This basically rejects the erroneous view that there is complete harmony and no more contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society; the erroneous notion that denies the necessity of

continued revolution in the fields of the relations of production and the superstructure after basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and that the major task is to develop the productive forces; and the erroneous conception denying that class struggle is the powerful motive force pushing socialist society forward. These scientific theses of Chairman Mao's illuminate the broad path along which the proletariat and the revolutionary people continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This brilliant work of Chairman Mao's further lays the theoretical foundation for the Party's basic line. In 1962 Chairman Mao again brought up the question of class struggle and more comprehensively set forth the basic line for our Party in the entire historical period of socialism. He points out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." The Party's basic line is the lifeline of our Party and our country, and we will advance from victory to victory as long as we march along this line.

"Marxism has developed amid struggle." Chairman Mao's theory of classes, class struggle and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the historical period of socialism has grown amid protracted struggle with the revisionist theory, the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Prior to the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Liu Shao-ch'i had peddled the fallacy of "mechanization before collectivization" in a vain attempt to resist the arrival of the surging high tide of the socialist transformation of agriculture. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao opposed Chairman Mao's thesis that classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist in socialist society, stood against the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, and rejected continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1956, when revisionism was spreading like a flood internationally and class struggle at home was very acute, Liu Shao-ch'i, ganging up with Ch'en Po-ta, openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions at the Second Plenum of the Party's 7th Central Committee. They described the principal contradiction in the country as a "contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces," and included this revisionist fallacy in the resolution of the Eighth Party Congress behind Chairman Mao's back. Chairman Mao then sternly pointed out: This view is wrong and

anti-Marxist. Marxism holds that in the wake of the development of the productive forces, relations of production that do not correspond with the nature of the productive forces will change sooner or later. This is a basic principle. Marx pointed out: "When the material productive forces in society develop to a certain stage, they will come into conflict with the existing relations of production or relations of property (the latter being a legal term of the relations of production) which have been active among them. So, these relations will change themselves from forms of development of the productive forces into fetters for the productive forces. By then, the age of social revolution will have arrived."(1) Engels pointed out: "Liberation of the means of production from these fetters is the only pre-condition for continuous, speedy development of the productive forces."(2) China's socialist revolution is currently changing the old relations of production which seriously hinder the development of the productive forces into socialist relations of production which correspond to the development of the productive forces, making it possible for the productive forces to be released. As cooked up by Liu Shao-ch'i and company, the contradiction between the "backward" productive forces and the "advanced" relations of production is no more than a reprint of such fallacies as "mechanization before collectivization." According to their fallacies, does it not mean that the socialist revolution has gone too fast and we should go back to capitalism? It can be seen that their aim is to create public opinion in favor of restoring capitalism.

Although Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist fallacies were criticized, the two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism did not end. In 1969, before the Ninth Party Congress, Lin Piao, ganging up with Ch'en Po-ta, concocted a political report dishing out again the theory of the dying out of class struggle. They claimed that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This revisionist report was severely criticized by Chairman Mao, and was rejected by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. The gist of this report was also to trumpet the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle and to oppose the Party's basic line in the historic period of socialism. Did Lin Piao not allege that our country was "completely free of revisionism"? This being the case, the tasks of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration could of course be written off, and the only remaining task would be the development of production.

The theory of productive forces has always been a shop-worn weapon used by the new and old revisionists to oppose socialist revolution. Bernstein, the old revisionist of the Second International, once said that if only the productive forces were developed to a high level, capitalism could peacefully "grow into socialism" and "appeal to violent revolution would become an empty phrase."(3) Later, the renegade Kautsky also alleged that "only when capitalism has brought about large-scale development of the productive forces" could "socialism--general welfare under modern culture--become a possibility."(4) Therefore, they frantically opposed the great Russian October Socialist Revolution, crying aloud that "the productive forces in Russia have not developed to the level where socialism can be realized."(5) Refuting this fallacy in a tit-for-tat manner, Lenin pointed out: "As you say, civilization is needed to build socialism. Excellent.

But then, why is it that we cannot first create in our country the prerequisites for this civilization, such as expelling the landlords and the capitalists in Russia, and then begin our march toward socialism?"(6) It is apparent that their purpose in trumpeting the theory of productive forces was to oppose the seizure of political power by the proletariat. Inheriting the mantle of the old revisionists, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also regards this trash as treasure and clamors that "the important thing is economics, production,"(7) "under socialist conditions economics is more important than politics,"(8) and so forth. Is this really so? No! They themselves have put counter-revolutionary politics in the first place. Their real purpose is to substitute the theory of productive forces for the Marxist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to benumb the fighting will of the revolutionary people and to cover up their crimes of restorating capitalism on a full scale in the Soviet Union.

By repeatedly trumpeting the theory of productive forces, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao actually attempted to lead China onto the capitalist road. To take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road--this was a basic question of the two-line struggle within the Party after victory was achieved in our democratic revolution. It was obvious that the bourgeoisie wanted to take the capitalist road. Within the Party, we wanted to take the socialist road, but some people nevertheless held that China, being a very poor country, did not have the conditions to develop socialism and therefore had to take the capitalist road. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were the representatives of this revisionist line. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao trumpeted the theory of productive forces and the theory of dying out of class struggle, but did class struggle die out for them? No, it did not! Gathering up a gang of renegades and diehards, Liu Shao-ch'i set up a bourgeois headquarters to push the revisionist line, vainly attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism,and frenziedly wage class struggle against the proletariat. Was there any trace of class struggle having died out? Lin Piao and company declared that the main task after the Ninth Party Congress was to develop production, but after the Congress they did not take "developing production" as the main task but take the overthrow of the proletariat as the main task. From October 1969 to January 1970, Lin Piao and his diehards wrote on several scrolls: "Of all things this is the most important--restraining oneself and returning to propriety." They could hardly wait to alter the Party's basic line and restore capitalism as a matter of top priority. Pursuing this reactionary political program, they staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat at the Second Plenum of the Ninth CCP Central Committee in an attempt to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state and restore capitalism. After their plot was smashed, they drew up a plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of 'Project 571'." On September 8, 1971 they staged the armed counter-revolutionary coup and attempted to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival Central Committee. When they failed, they fled in panic and defected to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of their Party and country, ending up in self-destruction. When did they take production as the main task? Had Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao succeeded in their plots, a grave regression would take place in the history of our country, and it would sink into a colony of Soviet revisionist

social-imperialism. By then, social production would be badly damaged, the working class and the vast masses of laboring people would suffer for a second time, and how could we talk about developing production?

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, how many people had for many years dreamed of developing industry only to find their dreams vanish like bubbles? This was because "without political reform, all productive forces are destined for destruction, and this is as true for agriculture as it is for industry."(9) It was only when the proletariat seized political power and after our Party led the peasants to carry out the land reform and effected nationalization of industry and collectivization of agriculture that the productive forces were set free. Under the socialist system, the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base are still the basic contradictions, which give concentrated expression to the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat fails to grasp class struggle and continue the revolution in the relations of production and in the superstructure, it will not be able to further consolidate the economic base of socialism nor quickly develop the productive forces. Even worse, the relations of production that have been established and found compatible with the productive forces and the superstructure which is in harmony with the economic base will also be destroyed and disintegrate. That is why Chairman Mao has time and again stressed the need to grasp revolution and promote production. This principle correctly answers the question about the relationship between revolution and production, spirit and matter, the superstructure and the economic base, and the relations of production and the productive forces; it is directly opposed to the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle trumpeted by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

When the theory of productive forces cooked up by the revisionists of the Second International to reject violent revolution barely emerged, Engels said in refutation of it: "Based on the materialist conception of history, the decisive factors in the process of history are, in the final analysis, production and reproduction in real life. Both Marx and I have never affirmed more than this. If someone distorts this by saying that economic factors are the only decisive factors, then he turns this proposition into an empty phrase without content, abstract and ridiculous."(10) Engels also said: "If political power can do nothing for the economy, then why do we have to struggle for the political dictatorship of the proletariat?"(11) Later, when criticizing Bukharin's fallacy of putting politics on a par with economics, Lenin pointed out even more precisely: "Politics cannot but take precedence over economics. Without affirming this, one forgets the minimum knowledge of Marxism." He also said: "The whole question lies (and can only lie from the Marxist viewpoint) in the fact that if a class fails to correctly handle problems politically, it cannot maintain its rule and hence cannot settle its productive tasks."(12) Inheriting and developing the viewpoints of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Chairman Mao has constantly taught us that a Marxist-Leninist party should pay attention to grasping the superstructure and the line, pointing out: Politics is the commander, the soul, "political work is the lifeblood of all economic work," and "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." This thoroughly refutes the revisionist fallacies both in theory and practice.

We criticize the theory of productive forces for the very purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing about a faster development of agriculture, industry and the entire national economy of our country along the socialist path. It is a misunderstanding, to say the least, to think that criticizing the theory of productive forces would adversely affect the growth of production. Comrades holding this view have not as yet drawn a clear demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism and failed to discern the reactionary nature of the theory of productive forces. Therefore, it is even more essential to raise our awareness and distinguish between right and wrong through the criticism of the theory of productive forces.

In class society, class struggle is the powerful motive power pushing society forward as well as promoting the development of production. Under socialist conditions, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a mighty force that pushes the development of socialist production forward. It is precisely because we have criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, upheld the Party's basic line and persisted in taking class struggle as the key link under the leadership of Chairman Mao that we have now won such splendid victories in our socialist construction undertakings. On the other hand, if we do not firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and if we depart from the Party's basic line, production will be denied a correct orientation and cannot be really pushed forward. This has been confirmed by a wealth of both positive and negative experiences.

The history of the past 20 years and more since the founding of the PRC has been one of grasping revolution and promoting production. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we have unfolded a series of political movements, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and fostered and incessantly improved the socialist relations of production and the superstructure of the proletariat. We have criticized the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, transformed the part of the superstructure unsuited to the socialist economic base, and brought into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. Matter can be transformed into consciousness, and vice versa. Our efforts in grasping revolution have resulted in rapid development of production and construction. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution carried out on the basis of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in accordance with the Party's basic line. This great revolution has destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and criticized their revisionist line. It has transformed literature and art, education and that part of the superstructure unsuited to the socialist economic base, while at the same time adjusting the relations between men and consolidating and developing the socialist economic base. New socialist things which have emerged in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether they belong to the category of relations of production or belong to the superstructure, are compatible with the development of the productive forces and the needs of the socialist economic base. The great cultural revolution has given a powerful impetus to China's socialist construction. This has once again proved that revolution is the locomotive of history.

The fact that a few units fail to do a good job in production is not because they have criticized the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but because they have not grasped class struggle well nor done a good job in making revolution, because the leadership is not in the hands of Marxists, the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and because capitalist trends are extremely rampant in these units. Grasp class struggle, and all problems can be solved. Once these units grasp the struggle between the two classes, two lines and two roads, follow the correct ideological and political line, and criticize revisionism and capitalism, they will soon change their features and boost their production. This is fully confirmed by the transformation of many backward units into advanced ones both in industry and agriculture. Based on Chairman Mao's instructions, the documents of the 10th Party Congress stress the danger of ignoring major issues and sharply remind us that if this situation is not changed, we will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. To grasp major issues means to firmly uphold the Party's basic line and grasp class struggle as the key link. This entails the need to completely wipe out the pernicious influence of the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle. We must conscientiously sum up our experience in correctly handling the relations between revolution and production and between politics and economics. We must unswervingly adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. We must criticize revisionism and enable socialist agriculture, industry and the national economy as a whole to develop more substantially.

For us to unswervingly adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production means to place revolution in command of production and make use of revolution to promote and stimulate production. To set revolution against production, to undermine the revolution by means of undermining production, just like the theory of productive forces, is a tactic used by the bourgeoisie to wage class struggle against the proletariat. We must heighten our vigilance against this.

As the new year has begun, we must continue to conscientiously and penetratingly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and increase our understanding of the nature, tasks, target and prospects of the socialist revolution. We must criticize the reactionary trend of thought negating the great cultural revolution, ardently support new socialist things, and develop and consolidate the fruits of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" is precisely a powerful weapon for us to criticize revisionism both theoretically and from the aspect of the line. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and see to it that everything else falls into place. We must further promote stability and unity, enhance the development of the national economy, and strive untiringly to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Footnotes:

(1) Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, pp. 82-83.

(2) Engels, "Anti-Duhring," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 3, p. 322.

(3) E. Bernstein, "The Premise of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social-Democratic Party"

(4) K. Kautsky, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

(5) Quoted from Lenin, "On Revolution in Our Country," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 691.

(6) Lenin, "On Revolution in Our Country," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p.692.

(7) Khrushchev's report at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party: "The Economic Development of the Soviet Union and the Party's Leadership over the National Economy" (Nov. 19, 1962)

(8) Editorial of Soviet Economic News: "Study, Understanding, Action," (Dec. 8, 1962)

(9) Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 3, p. 981.

(10) Engels, Letter to J. Bloch, Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4, p. 477.

(11) Engels, Letter to C. Schmidt, Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4, p. 486.

(12) Lenin, "More on Trade Union, the Present Situation and the Errors of Trotsky and Bukharin," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, pp. 441, 442.

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Pay Attention to Three-in-One Combination of the Old, the Middle-Aged and the Young

by

P'an Feng (潘锋)

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The three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, which is practiced by Party and state leading organs at all levels in accordance with Chairman Mao's splendid thinking concerning the five criteria for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, is a precious new thing created by the vast revolutionary masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also an important achievement of this revolution. This principle has been written into both the new Party Constitution adopted at the 10th Party Congress and the new Constitution approved at the 4th National People's Congress.

Practice over the years has shown the strong vitality of this new thing, which will surely continue to play a major role in future socialist revolution and construction.

Continued attention to the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is of far-reaching significance to consolidating and developing the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to upholding the Party's basic line and to combating and preventing revisionism. Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period, during which there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. Therefore, to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end is a prolonged, basic task after the seizure of power by the proletariat, a task which can be accomplished only through the efforts of several generations. This entails the need to have a correct line and a large group of cadres who adhere to the correct line. Chairman Mao says: "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors to the cause of proletarian revolution." Training and bringing up successors to the cause of proletarian revolution is a strategic measure for having successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause founded by the older generation of revolutionaries, and a major issue bearing on the destiny and future of the Party and country. Practicing the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading groups prepares favorable conditions for selecting and promoting outstanding young comrades who have emerged during the great cultural revolution to leading positions, training them further and enabling them to mature better and more quickly in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. Having leading groups of three-in-one combination makes it possible to give a fuller scope to the strong points and special qualifications of the old, middle-aged and young cadres, so that all of them can, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, form a strong and powerful leadership nucleus and take up the heavy loads of socialist revolution and construction.

Since the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is a new thing that has emerged during the great cultural revolution, what attitude we should adopt toward it is also a question of what attitude we should take toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution has profoundly educated the revolutionary old and middle-aged cadres, who have taken up leading posts with a new stance. It has also severely tested the revolutionary young cadres, who have gradually grown up and have been absorbed into leading groups at all levels, thereby injecting new blood to these leading groups. Leading groups set up in this way are guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and based on the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have new features compared with past leading groups. It may be said that without the thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and without the resounding victory of the great cultural revolution, the three-in-one combination leading groups would not have been born. Persisting in the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is a vital aspect of consolidating and developing the tremendous achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao says: "If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop. All old cadres, therefore, should welcome the new ones with the utmost enthusiasm and show them the warmest solicitude." During the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the overwhelming majority of our old cadres have raised their understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and of the major strategic significance of training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and they are capable of adopting a correct attitude toward young cadres. They regard training young cadres, looking after them and showing them concern as a piece of important work in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and in consolidating and developing the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, as a heavy responsibility entrusted by their own class and the Party and as the expectation of the people. So, within the three-in-one combination leading groups, they are able to work in unity with young cadres, learn from young cadres, and regain their own revolutionary youthfulness.

However, we should also see that some comrades, owing to their lack of a profound understanding of the great significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, still entertain one-sided and erroneous notions about the new thing, the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young and about young cadres. For instance, some look down upon young cadres, do not trust nor train them, and do not pay attention to developing the role of young cadres within the leading groups of three-in-one combination. Others find faults with young cadres, pose problems and obstacles for them and suppress the growth of this newborn force. This state of affairs should be corrected. In dealing with young cadres, one should see their essence and main aspect. The overwhelming majority of young cadres have grown up during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius; they have been steeled and tested during the fierce class and line struggles and are full of vigor and fighting spirit. They are willing to learn, sensitive toward new things and abundant in revolutionary enthusiasm. After taking up their leading

posts, most of the young cadres invariably make demands on themselves in accordance with the five criteria, closely unite with the old cadres, work hard, actively participate in collective productive labor, maintain close ties with the masses, and have achieved gratifying results in various fields of endeavor. This is the main aspect of the matter. Seeing the growth of young cadres should cheer and inspire us. We should warmly welcome them and give them our vigorous support, instead of taking a negative attitude toward them. If some young cadres have gone astray or made mistakes, that is because they have been corrupted and influenced by class enemies in society and poisoned by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. This state of affairs adds to the political responsibility of old cadres in helping and training young cadres, instead of reducing such responsibility. In no way should side issues be taken as major issues and the growth of young cadres obstructed.

Chairman Mao has all along stressed the need for Party organizations at all levels to apply Marxism-Leninism to unite and educate the vast masses of cadres, including the old, middle-aged and young cadres, and to help them improve themselves constantly in struggle. Even in the case of errant cadres, whether they are old or new cadres, we should apply the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness in order to save the patient," and allow them to correct their mistakes. As we may recall, our old cadres did a lot of work beneficial to the Party and the people during several decades of arduous struggle, but there were also many comrades who made this or that mistake. Because our Party adopted the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness in order to save the patient" and gave them the chance to correct their mistakes, they were enabled to grow by continuously summing up both positive and negative experiences. Had this correct policy not been applied and had cadres been dismissed or struck down once they made mistakes through "brutal struggle, merciless blow" as called for by the revisionist line, our Party's cadre ranks would not have been so united and strong as they are today and such great victories as are now won today in our Party's cause would not have been possible. This must be fully appreciated by the vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and the masses. Just come to think of it: if old cadres who have been educated by the Party for a great number of years still can't avoid making mistakes and are permitted to correct their mistakes, then, how can we expect young cadres who have just taken up leading posts not to make mistakes? How can we not apply the only correct policy--"learn from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and cure the sickness in order to save the patient"--toward them? Hence, in leading groups at all levels, we should stick to this policy toward cadres who have made mistakes, no matter whether they are old or young cadres, because this is the way to achieve clarity of ideology and unity of comrades. This is an important problem in consolidating and developing the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young and in consolidating and developing the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Within leading groups of three-in-one combination, when it comes to dealing with old, middle-aged and young cadres, particularly those who were criticized by the masses in the great cultural revolution and who have

now once again taken up work, there is a question of adopting a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and oneself.

On the necessity and vital significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has drawn a scientific conclusion long ago: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." A similar conclusion was made by the Party's 9th and 10th Congresses. It is precisely this great revolution that has led to the destruction of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao together with their plots to restore capitalism, thereby insuring that our Party and country continue to forge ahead along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It is exactly this great revolution that has promoted the rapid development of China's social productive forces and the further perfection of the socialist relations of production, thereby causing revolutionary changes in all spheres of the superstructure. New socialist things have appeared like bamboo shoots after rain, a new generation of men is growing up sturdily. This series of brilliant achievements is seen by all. They are warmly cheered by all revolutionary people and cursed by class enemies. In our cadre ranks, the overwhelming majority enthusiastically support the great proletarian cultural revolution. But it should also be seen that in society there is still an erroneous trend of thought negating this revolution. This is a reflection of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, a reflection that is bound to occur within the cadre ranks. Cadres who have joined the leading groups of three-in-one combination, particularly those who do not quite understand the process of the great cultural revolution, should recognize the necessity and great significance of this revolution on the plane of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat; they should fully perceive the essence and main aspect of this revolution, take a correct attitude toward this revolution, the masses and oneself, and avoid making new mistakes.

For young cadres who have grown up during the great proletarian cultural revolution, there is also a question of taking a correct attitude toward this revolution. Due to the existence of bourgeois and revisionist ideas, bourgeois rights and the force of old habits, if young cadres who have joined leading groups of three-in-one combination do not intensify the transformation of their world outlook, they may not be able to distinguish the cardinal issues of right and wrong during the complicated class and line struggles, they may disarm themselves ideologically in face of the attack by the revisionist tide of thought, and make this or that error. In order to train themselves into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and continue to march forward in struggle, young cadres must make strict demands on themselves in accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria, make an effort to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, continue to enhance their awareness of line struggle, stick to Marxism and oppose revisionism. They must actively participate in the practice of the three major revolutionary movements, maintain close ties with the masses, preserve the work style of modesty and prudence and arduous struggle, humbly learn from the old and middle-aged cadres, give serious attention to bringing the role of old cadres into play, and study the old cadres' rich experience

of struggle and fine revolutionary traditions. They must see to it that their positions have changed, but their color as ordinary workers does not change, that their duties have changed, their idea of continuing the revolution and serving the people heart and soul does not change, and that their conditions have changed, their style of hard work and plain living does not change. Only in this way will they be able to resist the invasion of bourgeois and revisionist ideas and keep to a correct political orientation.

The present situation of socialist revolution and construction is excellent. Yet, the road ahead is still not smooth. The class struggle and the line struggle remain very sharp and complex. Our leading groups of three-in-one combination at all levels must adhere to the Party's basic line, seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, take class struggle as the key link, continue to carry out a series of important instructions laid down by Chairman Mao, strengthen their own ideological and organizational building, cement the revolutionary unity among leading members and between cadres and the masses, and achieve still greater successes in all fields of work.

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The Immediate Significance of Criticizing Water Margin

by

Yin Ming (尹铭)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

From factories to the countryside, from government offices to army units and from shops to schools, activities of criticizing Water Margin have been extensively unfolded and notable results achieved since the publication of Chairman Mao's instruction on the criticism of the novel. The vast numbers of cadres and the masses, criticizing the novel in light of the reality of the two-line struggle, have clearly discerned the reactionary essence of the novel in preaching capitulationism and the true features of Sung Chiang the capitulationist. They have further recognized the criminal plots of people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in promoting revisionism and capitulationism. Following the development of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, the immediate significance of criticizing Water Margin has become more and more apparent.

Chairman Mao points out: "Sung Chiang surrenders, practices revisionism, changes Chü-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment." Revisionism was practiced in ancient times, is practiced in contemporary times and will still be practiced in the future. Here Chairman Mao generalizes the whole course of Sung Chiang practicing the revisionist and capitulationist line. Liangshan, under the leadership of Ch'ao Kai's correct line, was the rallying point for heroes from various routes, who rushed to it as soon as they got wind of it. There together they "discuss the staging of a general uprising." "Let's take the Sung Emperor as the deadly enemy," they said. However, storms suddenly arose, and at Liangshan a capitulationist, Sung Chiang, appeared. The moment he came to power, he changed Ch'ao Kai's revolutionary line of opposing not only corrupt officials but also the emperor and persisting in peasant uprisings, and pushed a capitulationist line of opposing corrupt officials only but not the emperor and accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Once the line changed, everything changed: Chü-i T'ing became Chung-i T'ang, and "daring to become a king" became "carrying out the wish of Heaven." The result was to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment and set out to fight Fang La. Heads rolled, and the Liangshan revolutionary cause perished as a whole. The whole course of Sung Chiang's capitulation shows clearly how dangerous it is to the revolutionary cause if the revolutionary line is changed and revisionism and capitulationism are practiced! Doesn't the criticism of the capitulationist line practiced in Water Margin enlighten us very well in perceiving profoundly the danger of revisionism today?

The great proletarian cultural revolution, started and led by Chairman Mao personally, smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, crushed their plots to restore capitalism, and won great victories. However, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism has not come to an end. Revisionism is still the main danger at present. Chairman Mao once pointed out: "If it is said that there are now still representatives of the royalists in the

French bourgeois national assembly, then, many years after all exploiting classes are wiped out on the earth, there may still be representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty who will be active in various places." If our struggle against the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek has to continue for such a long time, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism will continue even longer. Only 9 years and more have passed since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and it would be naive to think that no more will people come forward to practice revisionism and reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution. The farrago that appeared in the educational circles some time ago is directly related to the cardinal question of whether to affirm or negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. The "revolution in education," proposed by Chairman Mao, is a vital task of strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. The farrago attacked the "educational revolution for solving no problem." It denounced the open-door policy in education as "dispensing with the study of culture." It regarded the level of university students as "lower than the level of past post-secondary technical college students." In a nutshell, we should "turn back" to the old road and embrace Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist educational line. If this revisionist line were allowed to take the dominating position, then, just as Sung Chiang changes Chü-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang, our schools would be turned from tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat into tools for the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the achievements of the educational revolution would be thrown away.

If we take account of the reality of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, we shall know that the immediate significance of Chairman Mao's instruction on the criticism of Water Margin to "help all people recognize capitulationists" is very profound indeed. Revisionism as practiced by Sung Chiang has its peculiar historical and class content, but in respect to changing the revolutionary line, usurping leadership, negating the fruits of revolution and endangering the revolutionary cause, there always has been a common characteristic marking all revisionists, past and present. The fallacies of negating the great proletarian cultural revolution, rejecting the new socialist things and attacking the educational revolution that appeared in society some time ago are a concrete manifestation of this common characteristic of revisionists. Can we discern such an erroneous trend of thought which leads people to surrender to the bourgeoisie? Can we recognize its nature? Dare we fight against it? This is a test to us as to whether or not we truly "recognize capitulationists." By combining historical experience with the current struggle it will be possible to make our criticism of Water Margin lively and profound, enabling us to further realize the necessity of unfolding criticism of revisionism and capitulationism and to recognize the universal laws of class and line struggles.

Chairman Mao's directive concerning the criticism of Water Margin particularly stresses the importance of leadership. "Excluding Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people" means nothing else but that the revisionist Sung Chiang usurps the leadership and rejects the revolutionary Ch'ao Kai. The process of Sung Chiang in changing Ch'ao Kai's revolutionary line, a process praised by Water Margin, a teaching material by negative example,

begins with the usurpation of leadership. Once this agent of the landlord class sneaks into the peasant revolutionary forces, he pushes a revisionist, capitulationist line and quickly changes the color of Liangshan, the peasant revolutionary base. This fact shows that the question of which class holds leadership is most important to the success or defeat of the revolution. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, some departments and units failed to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and failed to resist and criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and were flooded with capitalism because leadership there was not in the hands of Marxists. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, we smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and further strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party Constitution adopted at the 10th Party Congress points out: "It is particularly important to be on guard against individual careerists, conspirators and double-dealers and prevent such wicked people from usurping the leadership of the Party and state at various levels, so as to insure that the leadership of the Party and state is forever in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries." Where the leadership is not truly in the hands of Marxists and the workers, there the great proletarian cultural revolution would be negated, the Party's basic line would be changed, and the verdicts on the revisionist line would be reversed. We should use the power given us by the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to serve the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, and we would betray the revolutionary cause of the proletariat if we use such power to practice revisionism. Only when we uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, intensify the Party's centralized leadership, and make a success of the ideological and organizational building of leading groups at all levels can we guarantee that leadership at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists.

As "teaching material by negative example," Water Margin can educate people by negative example, and all forms of revisionism and all revisionists are also teachers by negative example. Criticism of the influence produced by Water Margin may help us see clearly the significance of the big debate being unfolded around the question of the educational revolution at present. A correct line exists in comparison with a wrong one and develops in struggle against it. This big debate is a major struggle to uphold the Party's basic line and strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, and is a continuation and development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Putting facts on the table and reasoning things out through the debate will help both cadres and the masses distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and the Marxist line from the revisionist line. It will help clear up thinking and unite comrades. This big debate on the educational front is of extremely vital significance for other fronts. We must persist in carrying on this big debate and deepen it. For the past 20 years and more since the liberation, there have been a number of trials of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism, and they have all ended in the defeat of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Steeled by the great proletarian cultural revolution and educated by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses of people and cadres have considerably raised their awareness of class and line struggles. Whoever wants to practice revisionism and turn back the wheel of history will surely be isolated, boycotted and criticized by the masses. The basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party for the entire historical period of socialism

is fully compatible with the laws of social development in socialist society, and the masses of people will surely advance along the lane opened up by Chairman Mao and continue to push the socialist revolution and construction forward. This is an historical orientation no one can change.

Class struggle is the key link, and everything else hinges on it. Criticism of Water Margin is an important aspect of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship; it is also a specific aspect of firmly grasping class struggle. It is wrong to underestimate or downgrade the immediate significance of criticizing Water Margin. We must raise our consciousness of carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, enhance our ability to distinguish true Marxism from false and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism through to the end both in relation to the practice of the current class and line struggles and through the criticism of Water Margin!

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The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Great Cultural Revolution

by

Chung Shih (钟实)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

When celebrating the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin, teacher of the proletarian revolution, made what has since been known as a famous statement: "The farther away this great day recedes from us, the clearer the significance of the Russian proletarian revolution and the more profound our understanding of the experience in all practical work." ("Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution") These words can also fully apply to the victory of the new democratic revolution won throughout our country in 1949 and to the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country. With the progression of time, the far-reaching effects produced by the great cultural revolution in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in promoting the development of the socialist cause and in various other fields will become more and more evident.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow--even if only in one country--and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." ("'Left-wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder") Lenin made it very clear that after the proletariat seized political power, the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie would always want to translate their hopes of restoration into actions of restoration, and new bourgeois elements would continue to emerge and attack the socialist system. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat will be able neither to maintain its rule nor triumph over the bourgeoisie, and socialism cannot be established or consolidated. Therefore, in the entire historical period of socialism, particularly after the socialist transformation of the system of the ownership of the means of production is fundamentally fulfilled, whether or not to recognize the continued existence of classes and class struggle and the need to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat is a basic question bearing on the future and destiny of the Party and state and of the proletariat and the working people. It is precisely on this basic question that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism, causing the first socialist country in the world to degenerate into a social-imperialist country. The great leader Chairman Mao, waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theories of the proletarian

revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has summed up in an all-round way the positive and negative historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and formulated for our Party a basic line in the entire historical period of socialism, leading the whole Party and people of the whole country to struggle to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to insure the continuous advance of our country along the socialist path.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally, is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under socialist conditions. It has a tremendous significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country, Chairman Mao led the whole Party and the people of the whole country in carrying out a series of struggles against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. From the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 to the struggle to smash the P'eng Te-hui anti-Party clique in 1959, and from the great debate on the general line for socialist construction to the socialist education movement in town and country, one great victory after another was won. But, just as Chairman Mao pointed out in a talk in February 1967, "Although in the past we carried out struggle in the countryside, in factories and in the cultural circles, and the socialist education movement, we still could not solve our problems, because we had not found a form, a formula, to mobilize the masses openly, in an all-round way and from bottom to top to expose our dark side." In accordance with the theories of proletarian revolution and dictatorship, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of various struggles and finally found a form--the great proletarian cultural revolution. This revolution is the natural outcome of the protracted and acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines during the socialist period. It has pushed the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the struggle of Marxism against revisionism a giant step forward as well as enriching and developing the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in theory and practice.

Chairman Mao pointed out as early as 1968: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Both the 9th and the 10th Party Congresses penetratingly appraised the great proletariat cultural revolution. However, the struggle between affirming and negating the great cultural revolution is by no means over. In order to strengthen its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the proletariat finds it necessary to consolidate and develop the gains of the great cultural revolution. Being hostile toward and opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to defame and negate the great cultural revolution.

The farrago that cropped up in the educational circles recently is a right-deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts in an attempt to negate the great cultural revolution, and an acute manifestation of the revisionist line that stands against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. To negate the great proletarian cultural revolution is, in reality, to negate the Party's basic line and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the plots of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao to restore capitalism and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The history of class struggle since the founding of the People's Republic has shown that the overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie at home always attempt to make a comeback, that new bourgeois elements may be engendered, and that the struggle between the two classes and two roads in society will inevitably be reflected within the Party. Internationally, imperialism and social-imperialism, bent as they are on carrying out aggression and subversion against us, are bound to look for agents within our Party. Representatives of the bourgeoisie who worm their way into the Party will do their best to push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in order to change the Party's basic line and the socialist system. They seek to seize power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie when the time is ripe. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were such representatives of the bourgeoisie. For the purpose of restoring capitalism, they touted the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces." Taking advantage of the part of power they usurped, they not only exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in some spheres of the superstructure but also sought to change the nature of the socialist ownership system in the economic base. As Chairman Mao pointed out at the First Plenum of the Ninth CCP Central Committee: "It seems that it won't do if we do not carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." The trouble was that the leaders of these units "followed that line of Liu Shao-ch'i." Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, we smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, deeply criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, eliminated a handful of renegades and spies who sneaked into the Party and the unrepentant power-holders taking the capitalist road, so that their conspiracies to restore capitalism were thoroughly thwarted. This is a great victory for the great cultural revolution, a victory we must fully understand. Otherwise, we will confuse right with wrong, the straight with the crooked, and fail to see Mount T'ai because our eyes are covered by a leaf.

The great proletarian cultural revolution strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the verious spheres of culture, and consolidated the socialist economic base. Historical experience proves that socialist revolution on the economic front alone is inadequate and insecure, and there must be a thorough-going socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Although the bourgeoisie loses the means of production, it still commands considerable influence in the spheres of culture and education, and it will surely hold on to these "hereditary domains" to continue having a trial of strength with the proletariat.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company, in order to restore capitalism, desperately tightened their grip on ideology and the superstructure. The various departments under their control practiced a wild counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat. This situation was sharply criticized by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao pointed out: If the Ministry of Culture "does not change, it should be renamed the ministry of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers, the ministry of scholars and beauties, or the ministry of foreign mummies;" the ministry of health should also be renamed "the ministry of health for urban overlords;" in the educational circles, "the bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue to rule our schools." Marxism holds that the economic base determines the superstructure, but that under certain circumstances the superstructure may manifest itself as the major decisive factor. When the political and cultural spheres of the superstructure impede the development of the economic base, political and cultural reform emerges as the major decisive thing. If we had not carried out an extensive and intensive cultural revolution from below to the top, how could we change the situation in which dictatorship was imposed on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie in the cultural and educational spheres? How could we consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic base? The great cultural revolution deeply criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. It washed away the filthy mud and water of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and returned the positions occupied by the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. In compliance with Chairman Mao's instruction that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything," the working class and its most reliable ally--the poor and lower-middle peasants--mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. A large group of new socialist things are growing sturdily. Profound changes favorable to the proletariat have taken place in the superstructure as a whole, and a revolutionary scene is thriving. However, we must still see clearly that the struggle in the superstructure remains acute and complicated, and that the bourgeoisie will not reconcile itself to its defeat and will not lightly withdraw from this position. The great cultural revolution began in the cultural and educational spheres, and in order to negate the great cultural revolution and stage a counter-attack in revenge, the bourgeoisie must fire its first shots here. Therefore, we must resolutely adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the entire superstructure, including the revolution in education, in literature and arts, and in public health.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the masses, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. It is radically different from the dictatorship of all exploiting classes in that its great strength has a deep source. Only when we fully mobilize the masses can we build an iron wall for combating and preventing revisionism and truly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. A salient feature of the great proletarian cultural revolution is its mobilization of the masses in their hundreds of millions to carry out a great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fully confirming the breadth and depth of the mobilization of the masses in this great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Never before in any mass movement in the past have the masses been mobilized so widely and in such a deep-going manner." Hundreds of millions of people aired their

views freely, wrote big-character posters, and held great debates; with the force of a landslide, these caused the immediate destruction of the revisionist "independent kingdoms" in certain places and the collapse of diehard bourgeois citadels in certain units. The great historic achievements of the mass movement will shine forever, and can be denied by no one. Whoever tries to grasp some minor issues to negate the revolutionary mass movement is completely wrong. In the great cultural revolution, the broad masses have received an extremely profound education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, coming to understand the truth that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." They have increased their ability to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and between a correct and an erroneous line, and they have raised their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin put it well: The masses "receive a direct education in the whole revolutionary struggle, the significance of which is beyond comparison by anything else." ("A Revolutionary Day") Through the great cultural revolution, the number of comrades who uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism on all fronts has been increasing. This is so even in the educational circles where "bourgeois prejudices are particularly stubborn." This will certainly exert a far-reaching effect in combating and preventing revisionism and in fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every grassroots unit.

Different classes invariably take different attitudes toward every major revolutionary movement in history. Whether one considers the great proletarian cultural revolution as a fine success or a terrible mess and fully confirms or negates it--this clearly reflects people's different political stands. A very small number of people regard the great cultural revolution as a mess and always try to reverse previous verdicts; this is determined by their bourgeois stand. It is highly necessary to thoroughly criticize this right-deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts if we are to consolidate and develop the victories of the great cultural revolution. There are also a small number of comrades who hold some erroneous views on the great cultural revolution and the new things which emerged from it. This is either because they cannot take a correct attitude toward the criticisms of the revolutionary masses and instead observe problems with a narrow vision, and so they fail to see the essence and main aspect of things, and instead of enthusiastically and vigorously supporting new things, they always dislike them, feel uneasy with them, or find fault with and denounce them. Or it is because they have forgotten class struggle and the Party's basic line, and so they consciously or unconsciously pick up again the revisionist trash which has been criticized. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of cortradictions, and in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent principle of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness in order to save the patient," help comrades who have made mistakes to raise their consciousness, tell right from wrong, change their stands, and take a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and oneself, so that, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will unite together and advance jointly.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution has accumulated very valuable experiences for us to wage the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat from now on. As a form of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat, it is of universal significance throughout the entire historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao has said: "Our country at present practices a commodity system and the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat these things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This shows that the appearance of revisionism is not fortuitous, and has its deep-rooted class and social origin. Because classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in socialist society, because there are bourgeois rights and the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and because there is the danger of capitalist restoration, there is no alternative to the great proletarian cultural revolution. If we do not recognize problems in this light, not only are we unable to assess the great cultural revolution correctly, but we will lower our guard, lose our bearings and may even slip into the quagmire of revisionism during the struggle between the two classes and two lines. We must pay the utmost attention to this.

Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory calls on us to make clear the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He points out: "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." We must persevere in and deepen the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, persist in the Party's basic line and take class struggle as the key link. We must continue to implement Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and win new victories in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Adopt a Correct Attitude Toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

by

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The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great practice of combating and preventing revisionism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its far-reaching significance is being more and more revealed with each passing day and recognized by increasing numbers of people. However, the struggle over the question of whether to affirm or negate the great cultural revolution has never stopped for a moment. It is my deep conviction that only by firmly taking Chairman Mao's advice, seriously carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and continuing to deepen our understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution can we stand firm and see the direction clearly in the sharp and complex struggle and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To understand the great cultural revolution correctly and adopt a correct attitude toward it, we must first see the necessity and importance of this revolution. My understanding of this problem has undergone a gradual process. After Stalin's death and the rise of Khrushchev, the socialist Soviet Union went revisionist. This was a great jolt in my mind. Would revisionism emerge in China? What would happen if revisionism emerged? I had very vague answers to these questions at the time. Started and led by Chairman Mao personally, the great proletarian cultural revolution rolled forward. After repeated and violent trials of strength, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were exposed and smashed. A host of shocking facts caused me to see that throughout the entire historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. The appearance of revisionist chieftains within the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao is precisely a reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. If the great proletarian cultural revolution had not been launched, revisionism would come to power, capitalism would be restored, the fruits of victory gained through the sacrifices of countless revolutionary martyrs would be lost, and the whole of China would change its color. When I come to think of these, I understand even more deeply Chairman Mao's wise assertion: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." All Party members and revolutionaries who are unwilling to see China turn revisionist will fervently praise the great proletarian cultural revolution if only they ponder over the question on the plane of the future and destiny of the Party and country!

Having a correct attitude toward the masses is an extremely vital aspect of having a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the past, we relied on revolutionary mass movement in

fighting the Japanese aggressors, fighting Chiang Kai-shek, carrying out the land reform, and undertaking agricultural cooperativization. Today we must all the more rely on revolutionary mass movements in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great struggle waged by several hundred million people to combat and prevent revisionism. Never has a mass movement been so extensive and intensive as this one. This spectacular mass movement has steeled the masses of people, educated the cadres, and enabled both the masses and cadres to have a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It has raised their consciousness of class struggle, the line struggle and continuing the revolution. Ideologically it has built a great iron wall for combating and preventing revisionism. As an old cadre trained by the Party over many years, I have been deeply impressed by the education given me by the great cultural revolution. As I recall, in the early phase of the great cultural revolution the masses criticized me and asked me to stretch out my hands to compare with theirs. Their hands had very hard calluses, but mine had none and were very soft. This comparison hurt. I thought to myself: I worked for a landlord when I was in my early teens; after joining the revolution I carried a gun and fought and reclaimed wasteland to grow crops. The calluses in my hands were as thick as a copper coin. However, when I entered the city after the liberation and became a big "official," I began to do less labor and the calluses in my hands slowly vanished. The changes in the shape of my hands reflected the changes in my thinking. How sharp the criticism of the masses was! How it provoked my thought! This incident left an indelible impression on me. It showed that when the masses criticized a cadre, their aim was to combat and prevent revisionism. We old cadres followed Chairman Mao in making revolution and did some work for the Party and the people. However, under the influence of the revisionist line, some comrades became under varying degrees bureaucratic, indolent, arrogant and conceited, and even made this or that mistake. The great storms of mass struggle washed away the revisionist dust from our bodies. What was wrong about that? Many of our old comrades regained their revolutionary youthfulness, raised their consciousness of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, fought vigorously at the first line of socialist revolution and construction, and strove to win fresh merit for the people precisely because they absorbed rich political nutrients from the mass movement of the great cultural revolution. If we do not affirm the essence and main aspect of this revolutionary mass movement on the plane of combating and preventing revisionism but grasp the non-essential and secondary issues and are interested only in personal favor or rancor, this actually means we cannot have a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. If this problem is not resolved, we will make new mistakes.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, criticism of the revisionist line promoted the unity of cadres and the masses on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and profound changes took place in the relations between cadres and the masses. Before the great cultural revolution, I worked at a leading post in another area. Once, I met several peasants at the entrance to the office of the prefectural administration. They wanted to see the director, but they dared not go in. I thought: during the revolutionary war years we and the masses depended on each other like fish and water, but what separated us now? It showed that our bodies had been covered with revisionist, bureaucratic dust. Things have changed completely after the great cultural revolution. Now, on or off duty, people often call on

me in my office or in my home to discuss work or make suggestions. I feel that now that I have come into closer contact with the masses, I can see things more clearly too. Some, however, think that after the great cultural revolution, the masses have acquired the habit of making suggestions and this makes things difficult to do and the job of a leader unenviable. The key to whether things are easy or difficult to do depends on what line we take. When we follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the masses will support us and things can be done well; when we follow a revisionist line, the masses will boycott us and we will find things difficult to do and even may make mistakes. When the masses actively make suggestions about our work, this is an expression of their unprecedentedly high consciousness of line struggle, a happy sign brought about by the great cultural revolution. A gust of Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and negate the great cultural revolution swept our region in 1973. At first, I did not understand the gravity of this struggle adequately. The masses then called on me and said: "Old Kao, this is a line struggle, and there is no room for compromise!" Having studied the directives of the Party Central Committee, we raised our thinking. Under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee, we fought in unity with the masses and cadres and defended the fruits of the great cultural revolution. Facts confirm that the broad masses, having been steeled through the great cultural revolution, have all taken a keen interest in the important affairs of the state, raised their consciousness of the line struggle considerably and sharpened their political vision greatly. Thus they are able to give better assistance and supervision to the leadership in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the base of proletarian power has become still more solid.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great movement to destroy the old and build the new. In this movement, a large number of new socialist things has emerged. The practice of three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading groups at all levels is a new creation, capable of not only giving full play to the role of old cadres but also inducing the rapid growth of new ones. We Communists are engaged in socialism with communism as our ultimate goal. But the great cause of communism cannot be accomplished by this generation alone, and it is necessary to train and bring up millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The great storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution have trained and brought up a new generation of men, as many outstanding young people have been selected and promoted to leading posts at all levels. In our K'aifeng prefecture, new cadres can be found in the standing committees of county Party committees, among secretaries and deputy secretaries, and in hardcore groups of state organs directly under the prefectural leadership. They are full of vigor and are willing to work hard; they are rich in the spirit of struggle and have the least conservative thinking. They maintain close ties with the masses and have a relatively high level of consciousness of line struggle. Working together with them makes me feel young. In this generation of young people strong as dragons and tigers, we see our hope and future. How can we restrain our joy? Of course, like old cadres, new cadres also have a course of growth. As I recall, when I first joined the revolution, I was rather childish in many respects. I stumbled in work and made mistakes. It was only under the Party's education and through prolonged study and practice that I began to do some work. We should help new cadres as enthusiastically as the Party

and people have trained us. We should enlighten new cadres with both positive and negative experiences. We should urge them to go deep among the masses and into basic level so as to be tempered and grow at the first line of the three major revolutionary movements. Whether or not we support new cadres who have emerged from the great cultural revolution is a question bearing on whether the achievements of the great cultural revolution can be consolidated and developed. We must be on guard against those who, with ulterior motives, negate the great proletarian cultural revolution by rejecting the new cadres.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of China's social productive forces. Before the great cultural revolution, the economic foundation was rather weak in our K'ai-feng prefecture. There was basically no industry to speak of. The farmland capital construction was poor and grain yield was very low. During the great cultural revolution, the mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture developed vigorously, with substantial growth of industrial and agricultural output. The total industrial output value in 1975 rose nearly seven times compared with 1965 before the great cultural revolution, and the total output of wheat rose nearly two and a half times. The iron and steel, cement and chemical fertilizer industries were nonexistent in the past; now we have iron and steel plants, cement plants and small railroads in the prefecture. Every county has chemical fertilizer plants. There are two advanced counties--Lank'ao and Kunghsien--in learning from Tachai in agriculture and a large group of advanced units. Compared with advanced regions, we still lag considerably behind. But we are convinced that given this basis and through several more years of efforts, socialist construction in K'aifeng prefecture will make far greater advance. Before the great cultural revolution, we also wanted to quicken the pace of socialist construction, but little headway was achieved. Why? The basic question is the line. In the past, we were so influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's theory of productive forces that we grasped production for its own sake without paying attention to grasping class struggle. As a result, capitalism spread like flood, the socialist enthusiasm of the masses was suppressed, and production could not be developed. During the great cultural revolution, we persisted in taking class struggle as the key link, criticized revisionism and capitalism, adjusted the line and changed the style of work. We gradually reformed those parts of the superstructure that were unsuited to the economic base and readjusted the relations of production. This boosted the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and gave rise to a new phase in production. The masses put it well: "When the line is correct, cadres take the lead and the masses are active; we go from strength to strength." A small number of units failed to develop their production definitely not because they had to take part in the great cultural revolution but because they did not carry out the revolution thoroughly nor criticized the revisionist line completely, because leadership was not truly in the hands of real Marxists and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants or because trouble was stirred up by wicked people there. In these units, the features of production could be changed rapidly only when class struggle was grasped

as the key link and the problem of orientation and road was solved. The view that "the great cultural revolution has affected production" is entirely groundless.

The resounding victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have been won in struggle. To develop these victories, it is also necessary to go through fierce struggle. How to look at the great cultural revolution is a concentrated reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines; in essence it is a struggle over whether to continue the revolution or restore the old order. The farrago represented by the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts that appeared in the educational circles some time ago was an attempt to negate the great cultural revolution by negating the educational revolution. Under the Party's leadership, we should take an active part in this struggle and distinguish right from wrong through debate. This is of paramount importance to defending and developing the achievements of the great cultural revolution and raising our own awareness of line struggle. At every crucial moment of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has issued important directives and pointed out for us a clear direction of advance. In the early phase of the great cultural revolution I was able to come forward relatively early to join the broad masses in struggle to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line basically because I heeded Chairman Mao's words. I deeply feel that it is a matter of the greatest happiness to be able to make revolution under Chairman Mao's leadership, and that when we resolutely act on Chairman Mao's instructions, our cause will forever triumph. We must adhere to the Party's basic line, seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, review a series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, adopt a correct attitude forward the great cultural revolution, the masses and oneself, take class struggle as the key link, and do well in all fields of work.

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Cardinal Issues of Right and Wrong Must Be Made Clear Through Debate

by

the CCP Committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

(Summary of content: The following article clearly answers and refutes some farrago in the educational circles attacking the operating experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College, and makes a concrete analysis of the class essence of these views. This is an article produced in the big debate on the educational revolution and may be read together with the article "The Orientation of Education Must Not Be Tampered With" published in the last issue of this journal.)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the torrent of the proletarian revolution in education is surging forward. However, the struggle remains acute even under this favorable situation. In the educational circles some people spread all kinds of absurd arguments and whip up a Rightist deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts in an attempt to change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in education and negate the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The farrago makers also attack and pick on the operating experience of our Chaoyang Agricultural College. Their spearhead is definitely not aimed at the specific work of a college like ours. Is the basic road we take correct? What is the real purpose of these arguments? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong involving the line, one that must be debated and made clear.

In Running a College It Is Essential to Place Proletarian Politics in Command

Chaoyang Agricultural College has persisted in holding classes in the countryside for 6 years. During this period, we have fully relied on the working class, repeatedly studied the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's theories on the dictatorship of the proletariat and theses on the revolution in education, criticized the revisionist line in education, and gradually deepened our understanding of Chairman Mao's educational line. We have come to realize that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor and that schools must become tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to achieve this goal, we waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionist line of "17 years," and in the course of practice proposed: "A socialist agricultural college must first be a political college of the proletariat." The implication is quite clear: in a college politics must take precedence over vocational work and an agricultural college must first of all place proletarian politics in command and let politics lead vocational work. This is in complete accord with the spirit of Chairman Mao's teachings that "it is necessary to give top priority to a firm and correct political orientation" and "all work

in the school is for transforming the ideology of the students." However, the farrago in the educational circles is firmly opposed to "first operating a socialist agricultural college as a political college of the proletariat." Why? It is said that there is no mention of vocational work here and "it is always wrong to discuss only one side." Don't beat around the bush. What we say is about the commander, that is, what should take the first position. If we "discuss two sides," politics and vocational work, and regard both as commanders, would we not dismiss the commander? To put it bluntly, such is the aim of these farrago makers. They use the eclectic tactic of "one side, the other" to peddle the revisionist trash of "placing vocational work in command."

The Party's basic line tells us that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period, during which there are classes, class struggle, and the danger of capitalist restoration exists. After several major political struggles, has the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie disappeared on the education front, the hereditary domain of the exploiting classes? No! The bourgeoisie wants to use education to serve capitalist restoration, while the proletariat wants to use education to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, if schools do not become tools of the proletarian dictatorship in the socialist period, they will surely become tools for the restoration of capitalism. A technical college will certainly embark on the evil path of capitalism if it attempts to turn itself into a "purely technical college," does not persistently place politics in command, and forgets about the Party's basic line and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The farrago in the educational circles pays that the "main trends" at present are that "politics is ousting vocational work," knowledge is not studied, and theory is under-estimated. According to their reasoning, the principal contradiction on the educational front is no longer the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but the contradiction between having more knowledge and having less knowledge; the main danger at present is no longer revisionism, but the neglect of vocational work. Is this not a blatant alteration of the Party's basic line?

As early as 1921, Lenin, when criticizing the revisionist errors of Trotsky and Bukharin, pointed out sharply: "The whole question lies (and can only lie from the Marxist point of view) in the fact that if a class cannot handle the problems correctly in the political field, it will not be able to maintain its rule nor solve its production tasks." Chairman Mao has also repeatedly stressed: Politics is the commander, the soul; "political work is the life-blood of all economic work"; and "economic and technical work will certainly go astray once our political and ideological is slightly relaxed." These teachings of Chairman Mao and Lenin serve as a guide for us in correctly handling the relationships between politics and vocational work, between politics and technical skills and between political work and all other work. Technical and vocational work can only serve politics, and the school's specialities can only serve proletarian dictatorship. The moment these farrago makers in the educational circles heard that a technical college should first be run as a political college of the proletariat, they voiced their objections, showing that they have completely

turned their backs on the basic Marxist viewpoint concerning the relationship between politics and vocational work and between politics and technical skills. Their farrago is no different from the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces invented by the old and new revisionists such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Trotsky, and Bukharin.

Are the farrago makers in the educational circles, who have so vigorously opposed persistently placing proletarian politics in command, really concerned about the development of our specialities, science and technology? Certainly not. Criticizing the absurdity that "schools can be separated from politics," Lenin, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "The bourgeoisie who proposes this principle has itself given top priority to bourgeois politics in schools." The same is true of the farrago in the educational circles. Under the command of proletarian politics, Chaoyang Agricultural College takes Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works as required readings by teachers and students. Teaching well class struggle as a main subject has enabled the students not only to heighten their socialist consciousness and their ability to criticize capitalism but also to master agricultural science and techniques. Numerous facts show that having a correct political viewpoint will not interfere with vocational and technical studies but rather will promote their improvement and progress. If we act according to the farrago in the educational circles, fail to give priority to a firm and correct political orientation, and confine all school work to vocational and technical studies, would we not return to the old road of the former Shenyang Agricultural College? It can be seen that their purpose is definitely not to show concern for our specialities and develop science, but to restore the situation before the great cultural revolution when schools were controlled by bourgeois intellectuals. The vast numbers of teachers and students on the educational front and the masses of people shall never accept this restorationist and regressive line!

An Agricultural College Must Practice the Principle "From the Commune, Back to the Commune"

To satisfy the pressing needs of the rural areas for agrotechnicians, meet the demands of the socialist economic base and consolidate and develop the collective economy of rural communes, an agricultural college must keep to Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive: "Select students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and after a few years of schooling they should return to production." The practice of "from the commune, back to the commune," with agricultural college graduates working as peasants and earning work points, is warmly hailed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Nevertheless, the farrago in the educational circles is against this, believing that we want "to build communism right now." This means that we bypass a stage and have gone too far. Isn't this a tune similar to that sung by the Right opportunists of the past in attacking the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune?

As everyone knows, the period of socialism, in which we live today, is "a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism." In this period, bourgeois rights, which Marx called "birthmarks" of the old society, still exist. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, an important militant task facing us Communists is to restrict bourgeois rights,

gradually eliminate the "birthmarks" of the old society, enable communist factors to grow step by step, and force capitalism to its doom. Only thus can we usher in at an early date the brilliant tomorrow of communism. To fight for this goal, our education must keep to Chairman Mao's teachings when every effort should be made to train workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, to gradually turn intellectuals into laborers and vice versa, and to gradually narrow the gaps between town and country, between workers and peasants, and between mental and manual labor. By practicing the principle of "from the commune, back to the commune," we have rebelled against the old tradition of "studying in order to become officials" which has lasted several thousand years. This is a concrete step in bravely challenging bourgeois rights, enforcing the principle of the Paris Commune--"struggle in deeds, not in words, against the desires for high office and wealth," and in continuing the revolution persistently in the historical period of socialism. This is what we should do for the socialist revolution, and not a thing we do in "building communism right now." We differ from the farrago makers in that we build socialism today for the sake of advancing toward communism tomorrow. But they hanker after capitalism, although they live in the present period of socialism. No wonder that they always complain that the wheel of the revolution is running too fast and always view any progress as passing over a stage.

Commenting on our school's adherence to the principle "from the commune, back to the commune," the poor and lower-middle peasants say: "People trained in this way can be supported and used by us." This shows that the principle of "from the commune, back to the commune" practiced by an agricultural college suits the socialist economic base. At present, the socialist collective ownership is the mainstay of the rural areas, where the work-point system is practiced. But in the future communist society, there will be no differences between workers and peasants, and the work-point system will cease to exist as the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" is put into force. By then, will one have to earn one's work points as a peasant? How can they describe as "Communism" the practice for people to "come from the commune and go back to the commune" to become peasants and earn work points? Prejudice is indeed farther away from truth than ignorance. The farrago makers are known for their concern about the "quality of study." However, their own "quality of study" does not appear to be high. They are totally ignorant of Marxist political economy!

The farrago makers say "to train workers and peasants means abolishing schools." But on the other hand, they ask: Without training cadres and technicians, "what do we run colleges for?" Clearly, what they mean by "cadres" and "technicians" refers to people who absolutely will not become workers and peasants; if this is not so, should the "colleges" for training these people be "closed"? It follows therefore that "cadres" and "technicians" they want to train are definitely not cadres who assume the posture of ordinary workers, nor are they proletarian intellectuals who stand or fall with the workers and peasants. Like the "Red agronomists," "horticulturists" and "senior construction specialists" trumpeted by the old colleges of "17 years," they are no more than intellectual aristocrats lording it over the masses of workers and peasants. Chairman Mao

has taught us: "It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." The absurd argument that college students must be higher than workers and peasants by one grade completely distorts this Marxist truth; it is a revisionist line in education designed to serve capitalist restoration. According to the logic of the farrago makers, workers and peasants need not go to colleges, and when they go to colleges, they should not become workers and peasants again and should not be put on a par with the workers and peasants. Does it not mean that we should forever maintain the differences between mental and manual labor and let a few privileged persons monopolize culture and science? This situation can be imagined by taking a look at the Soviet Union where capitalism has been restored. The Soviet revisionist ringleaders make no bones in saying that their "country draws its cadres primarily from among specialists trained by institutions of higher education to engage in economic work, Party work, state administrative work, diplomatic and military work and all social activities." There, once you cross the threshold of a college, it means that you have climbed on the ladder leading to the privileged strata and possessed the privilege to oppress and exploit the working people. Let's ask the farrago makers: By opposing college students becoming workers and peasants so strongly, do you intend to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists?

An Agricultural College Must Operate in the Midst of Three Major Revolutionary Movements in the Countryside

The farrago makers in the educational circles are most vociferous about the question of "quality." They attack the present college students for "being not as good as the past post-secondary technical school students both politically and vocationally." They ask: "Is it possible to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country in 5 years if all college students are on the same level as those of the Chaoyang Agricultural College"? In fact, "the drinker is not after his wine." Rattling about "quality," they actually want to affirm the revisionist old road of "17 years," and to negate the proletarian road of integrating education with productive labor.

What is a college level? Different classes have different answers. We are a socialist college, and when we talk about "quality" and level, we first look at the orientation, the line, the question of for which class successors are trained, and our contributions to socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Mao points out: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." This is the only yardstick for the proletariat to measure the quality of education and level. Over the past years, teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College have taken class struggle as the key link and endeavored to implement Chairman Mao's proletarial line in education. As far as the direction of operation is concerned, we have adhered to "from the commune, back to the commune"; in the teaching structure, we have persistently upheld the part-work and

part-study system, running the school with diligence and thrift, and the system of "going up and down several times." In this way, the school has initially formed a new structure combining teaching, scientific research and production. It operates at the first line of the three major revolutionary movements in the rural areas, striking root among the masses. "Going up and down several times" /going to the college for classroom study and returning to the countryside to put what is learned into practice/ has the big classroom organically combined with the small classroom, and theory integrated with practice in teaching and learning. This helps students change their thinking and foster the proletarian world outlook, while at the same time mastering agro-scientific knowledge. Because of this, students trained are full of vigor and vitality. They are praised by the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune and brigade cadres as "a group of practical and useful farmers," "good staff officers to the leading groups" and "vanguards in restricting bourgeois rights." Can it be that such student cannot serve the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture? Can it be that past students of agriculture who did not love and work in agriculture and did not know how to farm and who nevertheless were very cocky and refused to accept the unified assignments of the state, could contribute more to the "building of Tachai-type counties throughout the country"?

The farrago makers also charge that we can only popularize but not raise standards by running a school in this way. They say: it is better to let some schools which "have conditions" to raise the standards! In fact, scattering our schools in the countryside and concentrating a large amount of manpower and material resources on solving the most urgent problems of the masses is not only conducive to popularization but also makes it entirely possible to raise standards. Engels pointed out long ago: "From the very beginning, the emergence and development of science are determined by production." Chairman Mao also points out that natural science is the crystallization of knowledge of production struggle. Practice in production is the source of development of natural science. Only when it is closely integrated with production can scientific research gain a strong vitality. Over the past years, in conjunction with teaching, we have done a great deal of scientific popularization work and at the same time achieved notable results in research work. We have already applied 20 scientific research achievements to production. New varieties nurtured by the teachers and students, such as Chaoku No. 4, Chaoku No. 6 and Kaoliang 1095 have begun to be popularized. On the study of weevils, the teachers and students, through practice, discovered that in the Chaoyang area the most harmful weevils were not the two species recorded in old books, but a new species known as "Mien Chien Hsiang beetle." After repeated observation and study, they initially ascertained the law of its life and found the way to control it. At the same time, they found that the "Meng Ku Hui Hsiang bettle" was not an annual beetle with the adult insect hibernating in winter, but a biennial beetle that hibernates in both adult and larva forms, thus correcting an erroneous conclusion in old books. This discovery is fully confirmed by investigations conducted in other provinces and municipalities by the related research departments of Liaoning province. The teachers and students of the cotton study group in the agricultural department of our college, noting that trimming cotton plants with irregular branches involved too much work, were determined to breed a new cotton variety without irregular branches. After several years of scientific experiment together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they succeeded in develping a new variety out of cotton

plants with few branches. This new cotton plant flowers on its main stem, has no irregular branches, ripens earlier, and bears more bolls before lodging. It is suited to close planting and mechanized cultivation and is now being planted for seeds. A host of facts have powerfully refuted the fallacies of those farrago makers. The way indicated by Chairman Mao for us in running schools constitutes the most important condition for raising the quality of education and the level of scientific research. What other "conditions" are needed? Can it be that "conditions" created by learning by rote can bring up Red and expert personnel and promote scientific research? No matter under what pretext it is made, any new attempt to separate schools from the practice of the three major revolutionary movements shall never succeed!

The appearance of the farrago in the educational circles is by no means an isolated phenomenon. It is a reflection of the present struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Our country is now in an important period of historical development, with socialism advancing victoriously everywhere. In this revolutionary process, a small number of people will always come out to oppose the new things and do all they can to defend the old ones. Just as Lenin pointed out, at the crucial juncture of historical change, "from the noisy 'intellectual circles' countless weepers may emerge, some weeping for a constitutional assembly, some for bourgeois discipline, some for the capitalist order, some for the civilized landlords, some for the imperialist chauvinist spirit, and so on and so forth." Now, some people have come out to weep for the 17 years dominated by the revisionist educational line, for the old schools before the great cultural revolution and for the entire revisionist educational system. But the tide of history is irresistible. "The light boat has passed by ten thousand mountains, with monkeys crying on both banks." New flowers of the proletarian educational revolution are blooming and competing for beauty. Let those "weepers" of all descriptions cry and groan. Victory always belongs to us, the fighting proletarians!

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Does the Educational Revolution "Drag Back the Four Kinds of Modernization"?

by

Mass Criticism Group of Futan University

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, January 1, 1976)

Among the farrago represented by the Right-deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts which emerged on the educational front recently, there is a noteworthy view which says that the proletarian educational revolution "drags back the four kinds of modernization."

This view is deceptive as it seems that the farrago makers are interested in the development of China's national economy and in the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology in our country. This is not so. Their real aim is to set the revolution in education against the "four kinds of modernization" in a vain attempt to negate first the educational revolution and then the great proletarian cultural revolution so as to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist educational line which hinders and sabotages China's socialist construction.

First, it is necessary to make a class analysis of what a strong modern country is. There are modern socialist countries as well as modern capitalist countries. The latter, such as the social-imperialist or imperialist countries, indeed have science and technology, but these are in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, and not in the hands of the people and are used for exploitation and oppression at home and aggression and massacre abroad. Can our socialist China take this road? No. We must build a strong modern socialist country. The farrago that has emerged in the educational circles pays much lip service to the "four kinds of modernization," but basically it is silent about what type of modernization we want and avoids the question of the socialist road and the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we talk about modernization apart from the socialist road, the result can only be capitalist or revisionist modernization. Isn't this precisely the case with the Soviet Union? After the Soviet October Revolution, group after group of young workers and peasants were trained in unreformed old universities and became so-called "Red experts." Finally, many of them betrayed their own class and became extreme vanguards for capitalist restoration. The ringleaders of the Soviet revisionist renegade cliques are their representatives. The Soviet Union today indeed has iron and steel, machinery and guided missiles, but in this very country which claims to have achieved modernization not only has the Leninist line been discarded, but the economy has turned into a mess and developed abnormally. Bad harvests have been registered year after year, and the working people have not had enough to eat. We must never forget this lesson "the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground" throughout the historical period of socialism.

The relationship between education and the "four kinds of modernization," essentially speaking, is an important aspect of the relationship between the superstructure and the economic base. As a component part of the superstructure, education has a significant role to play in promoting or hindering the development of the socialist economic base, and this determines the type of education we must have. In the 17 years after the founding of

because Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has been implemented, the revolution in education has been carried out and old schools have been reformed that education has made positive contributions toward accelerating the "four kinds of modernization."

One of the "bases" of the farrago in the educational circles in accusing the educational revolution of "dragging back the four kinds of modernization" is to distort running schools with an open door as "practice--practice--practice," saying that universities now "do not need theories." This is nothing but a rumor to deceive and frighten others. In building socialism, we certainly must continue to develop scientific theories. But what kind of theories should we have? The science faculty in the old university indulged in empty talk behind closed doors. "Without regard to the facts, they blow their horns to the sky." Before the great cultural revolution the department of mathematics in our university took the road of doing research behind closed doors. "With a pen, a sheet of paper and a cup of tea," it produced several hundred papers, but none of these explained or solved any problem arising from production. Can such theories promote the development of "four kinds of modernization"? Absolutely not. Marxism holds that "there is only one kind of true theory in the world, that is, theory derived from objective reality and confirmed by objective reality. Nothing else can be called theory as we mean it." Practice is the source of theory, and also the motive force in developing theory. It is precisely by running the school with an open door and establishing links between it and factories that mathematics has been liberated from the study and the classroom to become a science serving the socialist economic base. During the educational revolution, both teachers and students of the mathematics department carried out computation and analysis of geological data from more than 400 points in a certain region in conjunction with concerned work departments. The result was not only to provide new methods for accurately selecting the location of wells for petroleum prospecting, but also to derive a new boundary theory of exact locations in boundary condition from the physical models of well prospecting. These, in turn, have the effect of guiding the practice of prospecting and surveying work. Let's take for another example the photoelectric source laboratory in our university. Through a series of practice of making and testing lamps, the laboratory explored the laws of discharge of electricity from inertia gas and metallic steam, thereby giving an impetus to research work in basic theories with regard to chemical kinetics, spectroscopy, etc. These theories which come from practice gain new development and elevation when they return to practice to play their role. Spurred by the open-door policy in education, our university has not only carried out a large amount of theoretical research directly related to production, but also launched research on basic theories in elementary particles, astrophysics, functional analysis, the guage field, differential equations, etc. Let's ask: Has the educational revolution, with schools run with an open door, led to the development of theories or to them being "ignored"? Is it "practice--theory--practice" or "practice--practice--practice"? Anyone who is not confused by bourgeois prejudice will see this clearly. Those who reverse verdicts on the revisionist educational line and try to take the old road of former universities are the very people who deliberately drag back socialist modernization!

the People's Republic when schools were dominated by the revisionist educational line, education was unable to serve the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base; on the contrary, the domination of the revisionist educational line and its consequences were highly destructive to the socialist economic base. It is only through the great proletarian cultural revolution that this situation has begun to change. In recent years, although a radical reform of old schools has just started, it has demonstrated a great vitality and brilliant prospects in respect to serving the socialist economic base.

The practice since the founding of the PRC has shown that what has dragged back the "four kinds of modernization" is not the present educational revolution but Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist educational line. What happened to the department of physics in our university before and after the great cultural revolution provides a convincing proof as to who dragged back the "four kinds of modernization." As early as during the high tide of the great leap forward in 1958, the department set up a semi-conductor plant and trial manufactured Shanghai's first semi-conductor triode. But under the rule of the revisionist educational line, some thought that in running a factory, the department was like "a wild bull breaking into a temple," and the plant was closed. A professor of this department who did research on semi-conductor confined himself to the laboratory all day long researching on the energy spectrum of arsenic gallium according to the data of foreign semi-conductor literature, but felt hopeless about China's inability to produce arsenic gallium. At that time, some graduates who studied semi-conductor did not know even how to make the most ordinary transistors. Then, during the great cultural revolution, the department of physics broke away from books and set up the "April 1" multi-purpose electronic instrum plant, establishing an automatic production line from material to components to the whole machine. Concerning raw material, the plant developed from the production of ordinary single crystal silicon and arsenic gallium to the production of new luminescence material. As to components, it developed from single integrated logical circuits to medium and large integrated circuits, and produced various types of linear circuits, forming a series of linear circuits. Eight of these circuits filled the country's blanks, rendering direct service to national defense and economic construction. Our university has set up three plants of a similar type. The various departments in the science faculty, adopting an open-door policy, have established links with more than 130 plants, research units and people's communes,thereby closely integrating teaching with production and scientific research. Over the past years, we have successively undertaken various top-notch projects involving electronic technology, laser, new photoelectric source and petroleum catalysis. Some are concerned with aerospace or with the ocean. Some provide mathematical models for achieving automatic production lines or new catalysis indispensable to large-scale synthetic chemical fibre engineering, and small precision instruments for important medical purposes, in addition to identification and storage devices of an advanced international level. Of the research projects undertaken by the two classes of graduates in the science faculty enrolled after 1969, a great number served industrial and agricultural production and national defense and military industries, with 78 projects reaching the nation's advanced level. This shows that it is precisely

Those who accuse the educational revolution of "dragging back four kinds of modernization" denounce the open-door policy of the science faculty as resulting in a reduction of teaching and research on basic theories. This is equally absurd. Science and engineering departments have their separate academic characteristics, but in respect to the necessity of combining education with productive labor, both departments share the same goal. Science faculties in old universities one-sidedly stressed their peculiarities, and locked up their doors in complete isolation from production practice. Before the great cultural revolution, students of the chemistry department in our university "became more and more befuddled" as they went on studying physics and chemistry. Now, teachers and students teach and learn in conjunction with improving the catalyst of methylalcohol in a factory. They have not only produced a new catalyst of international standard and saved a great quantity of methylalcohol and silver for the state, but also enabled the students to better grasp the relevant technical knowledge. Working together, the teachers and students have also improved the teaching material on basic theories, having compiled two volumes of new teaching materials on physics and chemistry with a relatively high standard. The reform of science teaching methods and teaching material must never be carried out apart from practice, and even the transformation and building of science specialties can be truly settled properly only after extensive contacts with social reality. Many of the science specialties set up before the great cultural revolution were divorced from the needs of the three major revolutionary movements. Following their graduation, the students often found that "what they have learned isn't useful, and what is useful hasn't been learned." During the great cultural revolution, in light of social needs, our university set up two new departments of optics and computer science and 14 new specialties including communication theory, semi-conductor material, photoelectric source and laser. These newly founded departments and specialties reflect the needs of socialist construction and can better serve the socialist economic base. All this illustrates that science subjects have begun to be integrated with practice. What is wrong about this? After the educational revolution, science subjects no longer revert to the old road of studying theory for its own sake and have begun to be oriented toward integration of theory with practice so as to better serve socialist construction. How can such transformed science subjects "drag back the four kinds of modernization"? Engels said: "The emergence and development of science are determined by production from the very start." (Dialectics of Nature) This illustrated the road for the development of theories in natural science. The old science subjects before the great cultural revolution turned away from the path of developing theory on the basis of practice and ended up in a pool of stagnant water. Now, developing theory on the basis of practice, we have begun to discover and invent something. This will be more readily seen by people following the in-depth development of the educational revolution. Some in the educational circles asserted that integrating science subjects with production practice would "solve no problem of the four kinds of modernization," babbling that the results would be seen "after ten or eight years." In fact, don't look so pompous, for you are bound to lose.

Those who negated the educational revolution on the question of "four kinds of modernization" charge that the quality of education in our present universities "is lower than that of past secondary technical colleges"

and vainly attempt to once again peddle the "intellectual education first" trash. In their views, in order to realize "four kinds of modernization," our schools need only to train people with culture, regardless of whether they have socialist consciousness or bourgeois ideas or whether they will become laborers or intellectual aristocrats. But we believe that building socialism requires that our schools be turned into tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat and train millions of laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture. This means that one who receives an education must develop morally, intellectually and physically. In no way can we promote "intellectual education first" and put bourgeois politics in the first place. It is necessary to select and train worker-peasant-soldier students in accordance with Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive, to enable them to take the road of integrating themselves with workers and peasants and become Red and expert successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. After graduation, they must make up their minds to become ordinary laborers together with workers and peasants. In the course of building a strong modern socialist country, we must particularly guard against people who again dish up "intellectual education first" to counter the Party's educational policy and tamper with the orientation of the educational revolution by taking advantage of the public desire to develop the national economy at a faster rate. To realize the socialist "four kinds of modernization," it is necessary most basically to rely on the broad masses of people and arouse the socialist enthusiasm latent among them, instead of depending only on a few. The worker-peasant-soldier students now being trained come from and are deeply rooted among the workers and peasants, and this facilitates the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the great struggle to achieve the "four kinds of modernization." If we do not do so but rely on a few bourgeois intellectual aristocrats and bookworms, socialist modernization is basically out of the question. Whoever practices revisionism trumpets "intellectual education first," "the theory of productive forces" and "technology in command." Provided we analyze these views by upholding class struggle as the key link, we shall see their deceptive nature and their essence of restoring capitalism.

The current big debate on the educational front is not an isolated one, but a reflection of the struggle between two classes, two roads and two lines in society. This big debate concerns not only the question of orientation for the educational revolution, but also the question of what road China should take in this century and the next. It concerns the question of whether we can uphold the key link, class struggle, and persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat in the entire course of achieving the grand goal of "four kinds of modernization." We firmly believe that through this big debate when facts are put on the table and the truth explained, we shall surely enable the vast number of comrades on the educational front to clear up their thinking, unite more closely on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, further consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and unswervingly march in the socialist direction.

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Refute the Fallacy "The Present Is Not as Good as the Past"

by

Yü Fan (余凡)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and having experienced the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the people throughout the country, taking class struggle as the key link, are conscientiously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, combating and preventing revisionism, and promoting stability and unity and the development of the national economy. The socialist cause is thriving in all fields, the situation is excellent. However, the recent farrago in the educational circles has struck a different tune. People holding these absurdities feel as enraged as they are distressed at the victoriously developing revolution in education and the vigorous bloom of new socialist things. They shake their heads and sigh in grief at what they regard as unworkable and bad. In a word, as they see it, "the present is not as good as the past." Here people are confronted with an acute question: How should the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the new things that have emerged during the revolution be assessed! Is the current situation in the various cultural spheres including education better than the past, or "is the present not as good as the past"? Such a matter of principle must be debated and made clear.

Marxisms always holds: Revolution is the locomotive of history. The powerful motivating effect the great proletarian cultural revolution has produced on China's social development has once again confirmed this scientific assertion. The great cultural revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. By conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the broad masses have considerably raised their awareness of class and line struggles. The mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture are surging ahead throughout the country. In the superstructure, including the various cultural spheres, bourgeois and revisionist ideas have been penetratingly criticized, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been strengthened, and new socialist things have emerged like bamboo shoots in the wake of a spring shower and are growing sturdily. Profound changes have taken place on all fronts throughout the country, showing a revolutionary spectacle full of vitality and seething enthusiasm.

How did the situation on the educational front fare before the great cultural revolution? At that time, Liu Shao-ch'i and company used that part of power they had usurped and pushed a revisionist line that put schools under the domination of bourgeois intellectuals. It was the bourgeoisie who exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. There was a flood of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist things, and children of workers and peasants were discriminated against. Many students became more stupid the more they learned, and their health was ruined too. Poisoned by the revisionist line, some students "are indigenous in the first year, become

foreign in the second, and can't recognize their parents in the third," becoming captives of bourgeois ideas seeking fame and wealth. Was there anything good in all this? Anything that deserves to be remembered? The great proletarian cultural revolution shattered Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in education, and with the entry of the working class into schools to manage them, bourgeois intellectuals no longer ruled our schools. Schools at all levels have conscientiously carried out the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labor, with efforts made to transform them into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Schools are run with an open door, and while the "main task is to study, they /the students/ should also learn other things." All work is geared to "transforming the students' thinking" and every effort made to bring them up as laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture and as successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. Vast numbers of educated youth have gone to the countryside to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. Universities select students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and return them to production after a few years of study. A brand-new system of proletarian education is gradually being established through various experiments. This great reform on the educational front is a solid fruit of the great cultural revolution, and the general orientation is entirely correct. The initial achievements gained are beyond comparison by anything of the old education.

As on the educational front, a new atmosphere prevails in other spheres of the superstructure. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, one model revolutionary theatrical work after another has been produced and popularized, the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers stand majestically on the socialist stage, and gone are the days when the stage is dominated by emperors, princes, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, demons and freaks. All forms of art such as the motion picture, the theater, novels, poetry, music and the fine arts are flourishing with new features in an effort to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Creative works of literature and art by the workers, peasants and soldiers are blooming everywhere. On the health front, following Chairman Mao's instruction "in medical and health work, put the stress on the countryside," urban medical workers have gone to the rural areas, the cooperative medical system has been widely extended, barefoot doctors have emerged in great numbers, and the rural shortage of doctors and medicines is in the process of being overcome. On the scientific and technological front, vast numbers of scientific and technical personnel have repudiated the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace and the comprador slavish philosophy advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and are integrating themselves with the worker and peasant masses. Keeping to self-reliance and hard struggle, they have broken through one barrier after another and filled up the blanks in China's science and technology. Large numbers of cadres in state organs are actively taking part in collective productive labor and firmly taking the "May 7" road, thereby pushing their own revolutionization.

"The city, a tiger crouching, a dragon curling, outshines its ancient glories." So long as one does not harbor bourgeoisie prejudice, one will see clearly that the present is better than the past, and definitely not "the present is not as good as the past." However, all these changes

cannot be seen by those who insist "the present is not as good as the past." "They are blind, and all is dark before them. At times they go so far as to confuse right and wrong and black and white." What makes them blind? The bourgeois stand and world outlook. Those who observe matters with the bourgeois stand and world outlook are certain to hanker after the old things of capitalism while picking on new socialist things, and they will surely arrive at the erroneous conclusion that "the new is not as good as the old" and "the present is not as good as the past." The essense of such fallacies is not only to negate the revolution in education and in science and technology, but also to negate the great cultural revolution as a whole. In fact, they want to fall back on the old revisionist road. We should first of all shout at these people: Your stand is wrong! At the same time, we should help them change their stand through reasoning by laying facts on the table.

How to assess the new socialist things that have emerged since the great proletarian cultural revolution is an important question in correctly understanding and appraising "present" and "past." As we see it, these new things are good precisely because they conform with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, reflect the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people, represent the direction of historical development, and are conducive to combating and preventing revisionism, restricting bourgeois rights, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. For all these reasons, they have great vitality. Where the revolution in education is concerned, having the working class lead schools, selecting students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, conducting open-door education, etc.--all this is intended to put an end to the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals, to transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to close the road of former schools that trained bourgeois intellectual aristocrats, and to open up the road to bringing up successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. So long as we approach the issue on the plane of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines and from the imperative need to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will surely arrive at the correct conclusion that the new things of today are essentially superior to the old things of the past. Of course, it is impossible for new socialist things to be perfect the very moment they emerge. Expecting them to be totally perfect without any flaw or problem would go against the law of development of things and against materialist dialectics. Flaws and problems existing in new things are problems in the course of their development and can be settled under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In fact, some of these problems have already been solved, while others are being solved. New things, being revolutionary by nature, are far superior to old things; this is their main aspect. We should take the correct attitude of supporting and helping them wholeheartedly, summing up the experience, affirming the achievements, and overcoming the shortcomings, so that they may continue to grow more sturdily. But those who say "the present is not as good as the past" do not take this approach; instead they depart from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as well as from the task of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They do not see the essence and main aspect of new things; instead, they merely pick a few superficial and temporary faults and attack them without considering the rest, describing the new things as totally useless. In doing so they put themselves on the

opposite side of new things and the opposite side of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Lenin once pointed out: "Ridiculing the tender shoots of new things with the frivolous and skeptical attitude of an intellectual, etc--all this is actually a tactic used by the bourgeoisie to wage class struggle against the proletariat and to protect capitalism and oppose socialism." Do those who say "the present is not as good as the past" take the same course of action vis-a-vis the new socialist things?

The fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past" is not strange to us. In history, following every great revolution, there were not only people who found it hard to adapt themselves to the new order after a very long time but also reactionaries who moved against the tide of history and leaped out to oppose the revolution and new things. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists launched an frenzied attack on the Party, and an important means they used was to fabricate and spread the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past" in order to write off the great achievements of China's socialist revolution and construction. They vainly attempted to create confusion and hoodwink people in order to drag China back to the old road of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i strangled the education revolutionary movement launched in 1958 and attempted to restore capitalism in the countryside also by fabricating and spreading the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past," saying that the quality of education was low and cooperativization was not as good as individual operation. In order to realize his criminal goal of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism, the bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao followed in the footsteps of Confucius and made every effort to advocate such reactionary fallacies as "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" as well as "keep the old laws in force" and "maintain the old rules." He viciously attacked everything new that emerged out of the great proletarian cultural revolution in an attempt to totally negate the great cultural revolution. But the supersession of old things by the new is an objective law independent of the will of reactionaries. All their perverse actions cannot alter in the least the direction of historical development and cannot change the objective fact that the present is better than the past; on the contrary, they have exposed the ugly features of these reactionaries even more thoroughly.

The whole historical period of socialism is a period of struggle between rising communism and dying capitalism. How to assess "present" and "past," how to assess new socialist things--this always constitutes an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes and two lines. In order to restore the old system, class enemies may still cook up the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past" to attack and strangle new socialist things. Within our revolutionary ranks, influenced by the revisionist line and bound by traditional concepts, some comrades have not transformed their world outlook thoroughly and may still entertain mistaken ideas and adopt an erroneous attitude toward "present" and "past," toward the great cultural revolution and new things. Therefore, we must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, further criticize the revisionist line, raise our ability to distinguish between the right and wrong lines, strive to remold our world outlook, and take a correct attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and oneself. We must

unceasingly criticize and repel adverse currents negating the great cultural revolution and new socialist things. Thinking should be made clear and comrades united through debate, and we must work better in every field and consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution.

As to whether "the present is not as good as the past" or the present is better than the past, history has already drawn a conclusion, one that will be further proved in the future. Through criticizing the fallacy "the present is not as good as the past" and through debate, it will be possible to help the comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country further raise their consciousness of class and line struggles, so that with greater revolutionary fervor and more resolute efforts, we will carry the various revolutionary undertakings including the educational revolution through to the end!

* * *

The Educational Revolution Is Excellent

by

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Red Guard of Middle School attached to Tsinghua University

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and having experienced the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our school, like the entire educational front, faces a scene of growing prosperity and vigor. However, under this excellent situation, class struggle has not ceased even for a moment. Recently, a Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts struck the educational circles, negating the great proletarian cultural revolution and our educational revolution which is described as a terrible mess. It is said that the greatest danger confronting the educational circles now is "not reading books," "under-estimating theory" and "not talking about study of culture." If this state of affairs should continue, so the argument runs, the result would be "to drag back the four kinds of modernization," and so on and so forth. In a word, the educational scene since the great cultural revolution was started has been nothing short of a terrible mess.

Is our educational revolution started since the great cultural revolution bad or fine? Ironclad facts provided by our middle school attached to Tsinghua University supply a forceful answer!

Before the great cultural revolution, our school pursued a revisionist line. In the name of insuring graduates admission to university, it used "the score line" to turn away a large number of children of workers and peasants. In their six years in the school, students were taught to "excel in learning in order to become government officials." "The campus is your world, books are your food, and becoming a famed scholar or specialist is your ideal." Students trained in this way thought of nothing but "to pass the university entrance examination in order to become a dragon; otherwise, you'll become a small insect." Students who failed in their university entrance examinations and had to become workers felt they had no face to see their teachers again, and swore never to go back to their alma mater. Thus, in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution the school did not train successors to the proletariat but became an instrument of bourgeois dictatorship!

In the early phase of the great cultural revolution, responding to Chairman Mao's call--"carry out a revolution in education," we rose to rebel against the revisionist line. Our move promptly won the support and concern of our great leader Chairman Mao, who in a letter to the Red Guards of our school said: The revolutionary action of the Red Guards "expresses your anger at, and denunciation of, all landlords, capitalists, imperialists, revisionists and their running dogs who exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. It is an indication that to rebel against the reactionaries is justified. I pledge my whole-hearted support for you." With Chairman Mao's deep concern, the Red Guard movement spread throughout the country, with the slogan "to rebel against the reactionaries is justified" echoing to the skies.

Responding to Chairman Mao's call, Red Guards went to the countryside group after group to take the broad road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. It is precisely this great proletarian cultural revolution that put an end to the domination of bourgeois intellectuals and returned schools to the hands of the working class. Over the past years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and led by the working class, we Red Guards, together with revolutionary teachers, have repeatedly criticized the revisionist line and carried out reforms in the old educational system, principles and methods. How can one say that the revolution in education is a mess when Chairman Mao's educational policy is being implemented and the educational revolution is progressing vigorously? Can we afford to let bourgeois, revisionist lines continue to run our schools without carrying the educational revolution?

In smearing the excellent situation of our educational revolution and opposing our carrying it out, the bourgeoisie usually makes a fuss over the quality of education. What is the quality of education in our middle school? Let facts speak for themselves. Since last year, two classes of senior middle students who enrolled in our school after the start of the great cultural revolution have graduated. They were determined to criticize with their deeds the revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius such as "one who excels in learning will become an official" and resolutely took the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. They asked to go to the countryside, to hard and tough places, to places where their services were needed most by the fatherland. They were unwilling to stay in the vegetable growing villages around the Summer Palace, nor were they willing to work in the orchards around the Ming Tombs. On their own initiative they asked to go to the mountainous region of Yen-ch'ing county to settle down in production teams. Over the past year and more, warmly urged on by Party organizations and the poor and lower-middle peasants, they have adhered to the Party's basic line and constituted a vigorous force full of vitality dedicated to learning from Tachai in agriculture and the construction of a new socialist countryside. They have persisted in studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and by receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, they have undergone all sorts of tests in thought, labor and life. In the villages they set up blackboard bulletins and run evening political schools. Some have become production team cadres or barefoot doctors, others cadres of the Communist Youth League. Some have gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party. The poor and lower-middle peasants say elatedly: "With such successors to the revolution, we sure have nothing to worry about!" Bringing up a great number of such laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture is precisely what we proletarians mean by the quality of education.

Our comrades-in-arms who live in the mountain villages have never forgotten class struggle in the realm of the superstructure. When the farrago struck the educational circles in July, August and September last year, they held a meeting and immediately wrote to the school and to their parents, saying: "How should we assess the current situation on the educational front? We heard some people say: 'Now worker-peasant-soldier students are not welcomed everywhere, and it's still students trained during the 17 years who are useful.' They suggest that senior middle school

graduates should go directly to university, 'it is not necessary to learn from Chaoyang Agricultural College,' and so on. Where does this wind come from? In our opinion, this is another reflection of the ups and downs of class struggle. Those who vainly attempt to reverse previous verdicts have probably lost their patience? We believe the worker-peasant-soldier students will deal a powerful counter-blow to these people who have lost their heads." "Some people say: 'The experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College is good, but if all schools were to learn from it the national economic plan could hardly be accomplished.' Others say: 'Those people we are training are no good.' Is this not a negation of the great cultural revolution? Do they want to reject the 'July 21' road and say that everyone is equal before marks? Do they want to negate the leadership of the working class and let revisionists come to power again? No! As we see it, the educational revolution can only advance and not fall back! Regression is no way out! Please give more attention to all this. If this is really the case, there surely will be a struggle between two lines. You must stand firm, see the correct orientation, dare to go against the tide and be good at it. This is what the several of us want to say to our people back home. 'Amid the growing shades of dusk stand sturdy pines, riotous clouds drift past, swift and tranquil.' The struggle on the educational front is complicated, but the essential point is this: 'Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor.'" Please look, Chairman Mao's Red Guards are able to distinguish the direction of wind with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the face of the complicated class struggle, and their attitude is so clear and their stand so firm! May we ask those in the educational circles who claim to have studied the history of education and mastered education: In the feudal, capitalist society that lasted several thousand years, which dynasty and which school could bring up youths with such ambitions and socialist consciousness? None! And it was impossible for this to be done! But in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, the great numbers of young revolutionary pathbreakers daring to go against the tide brought up by our schools today not only "make a mess" but are virtually a "disaster" to them.

Those who attack our educational revolution and smear the quality of our education as being low say that we "do not read books," "do not talk about study of culture," "under-estimate theory," etc. Yes, we do not study feudal, capitalist and revisionist culture, and we despise theories divorced from reality. However, we have not relaxed our effort a bit at studying socialist cultural subjects and theories integrated with reality. Over the years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 directive," we have persevered in conducting open-door education, tempered ourselves in the three major revolutionary movements and combined education with productive labor, and we have achieved a lot of gratifying results. During the process of practicing open-door education in the countryside, local cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants talk to us on the history of class and line struggles. On our part, we have also conducted many social investigations, which have greatly enriched our knowledge of these struggles. Many advanced people in the countryside are models for us Red Guards, helping to deepen our understanding of the rural sectors and harden our determination to go to the countryside. Meanwhile, we have also acquired a great deal of basic knowledge in conjunction with practical tasks. For example, through lessons in chemistry we gained knowledge related to chemical fertilizers, soil and the principles of soil test reaction. In basic

courses on agriculture we studied the entire growth process of wheat and grasped the general cultivating techniques of wheat planting as well as high-yield measures. A class took the task of examining wheat seedlings and soil test for a brigade. On seven occasions the students went to production teams, and they provided the commune with useful data derived from summing up the experience of high wheat yield. Some students even helped the brigade build an agricultural science laboratory and took part in installing a drip irrigation system serving cucumber green houses which is of an advanced domestic level. Some students and teachers proposed new methods for early examination of seedlings. Take the language lessons for another example. In line with "learn from Tach'ing in industry" and "learn from Tachai in agriculture", we went to factories and the countryside to take part in labor while at the same time conducting social investigation before we practiced writing. In this way, we have not only acquired knowledge of class struggle, learned the good qualities of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and tempered our thinking, we have also gained basic knowledge by combining theory with practice and raised our ability to analyze and solve problems. Facts show that by conducting open-door education, far from neglecting cultural studies, we have learned a great deal more than before. Not only have we gained book knowledge, and by combining theory with practice, have also acquired more complete knowledge. In the several years of our schooling, we study not only literature but also industry, agriculture and military affairs. Whenever we recall how the master workers urged us to become ordinary laborers, how we battled shoulder to shoulder with the poor and lower-middle peasants to gather in the summer crop before the advent of the rainy season every year, how happy we were for the thousand-catty yield per-mow in our school's experimental plot, and those unforgettable scenes of military drills, we are indeed filled with excitement!

A brand-new proletarian educational system is being unfolded before us as a new generation of the proletariat is growing with great vigor under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In full view of this excellent situation, however, the cookers of the farrago in the educational circles launched an unbridled assault by nonsensically branding open-door education as "not reading books" and "not talking about study of culture," slanderously accusing us of being "blind and deaf." It is they who are really blind and deaf! Their purpose in doing so is but to pull us back onto the old road of revisionism and have us trained into bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. This is sheer wishful thinking, and we Red Guards will always be clear-headed and will not be taken in.

Today, in the battle to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have again studied the letter Chairman Mao wrote to the Red Guards. It has warmed our hearts and given us strength. The reality of class struggle has made us see that whether to affirm or negate the great proletarian cultural revolution is a concentrated reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and the two lines, a struggle that will still exist for a long time. On the long march of the revolution, we will surely meet with repeated counter-attacks by class enemies and with stubborn resistance from various traditional forces. Therefore, we must forever maintain and foster the thorough-going revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards, that "to rebel against reactionaries is justified." We must rebel with no holds barred against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. To see to it that the Party does not turn revisionist and the state does not change its color,

we Red Guards must carry the struggle to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line through to the end. We fought before and are fighting now, and we will go on fighting in the future. As long as the line struggle exists, we will resolutely fight the wrong line. In the meantime, we must also firmly keep in mind what Chairman Mao repeatedly instructed us in his letter: You should "pay attention to uniting with all those who can be united with. As for those who have made serious mistakes, after their mistakes are pointed out, you should offer them a way out by giving them work and a chance to correct their mistakes, so that they may start afresh. Marx said that the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all of mankind. Unless it emancipates all of mankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation." During the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, some places had taken a detour because they ran counter to this teaching of Chairman Mao's, and we should remember this as an historical experience. We must, under the centralized leadership of the Party, accept re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers, unite with the teachers and the broad masses of people, jointly criticize revisionism and capitalism, and carry the educational revolution through to the end. Our ultimate goal is to realize communism. Faced with such a magnificent revolutionary cause, we feel that the responsibilities entrusted to our younger generation by the Party and people are most stupendous and glorious!

The end of the battle is not within sight. Let those bourgeois overlords revile us as impotent in whatever we do. But we will take over the red flag from the hands of the older generation of revolutionaries and advance forever along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

* * *

Happy to See the Sturdy Growth of Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students

by

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and
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Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, with the close concern of the Party and under the leadership of the working class, we old teachers, who are determined to contribute to the educational revolution, have taken an active part in the educational revolution together with the worker-peasant-soldier students. We have seen with our own eyes the excellent situation of the educational revolution, the earth-shaking changes that have taken place in the Peking University, and the rapid and sturdy growth of worker-peasant-soldier students morally, intellectually and physically. This fills us with heartfelt delight. It gives us infinite happiness to feel that we have done some good work for the proletarian educational cause and for socialist revolution and construction.

However, under this excellent situation, a Right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts has blown across the educational circles, with the appearance of various absurd arguments to the effect that the worker-peasant-soldier university students "are not as good as past secondary technical college students both politically and vocationally." They accuse our schools of "not talking about the study of culture" and "under-estimating theory." The essence of such fallacies is to attempt to cause a breach on the question of the quality of the worker-peasant-soldier students, negate the proletarian educational revolution, restore the revisionist educational system, and reverse the verdicts of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Therefore, how to assess the quality of worker-peasant-soldier students is a question of paramount importance involving the line, one that must be debated and made clear. As old intellectuals from the old society, we have been deeply impressed both by the evils of old China's reactionary education and the danger of the revisionist educational line practiced in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution. We have been far more impressed by the educational revolution over the past several years. In the face of the farrago that "the present is not as good as the past" with regard to the quality of educations, we must refute them with facts we personally experienced.

As for how to assess the quality of education, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are poles apart in their standards of evaluation. Lenin said: "The school should become a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat." By quality, we mean first of all political quality, and we must look at the orientation, the line, and which class successors are being trained for. Students trained by socialist universities should be fighters who combat and prevent revisionism and serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction; they should be laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture. However, under the domination

of the revisionist line, the old Peking University before the great cultural revolution was glutted with feudal, bourgeois and revisionist stuff such as "intellectual education first," "private ownership of knowledge," etc. The first big poster that greeted a student when he arrived at the university read: "Welcome you, our future mathematician!" "Welcome you, our future physicist!" The student was guided onto the road of "teaching assistant--lecturer--professor." This revisionist educational line caused many young students to be unconcerned for the future of the motherland and the fate of mankind and to climb desperately that "little treasure tower" of intellectual aristocrats, taking the pursuit of fame and gain as the goal of their life. When they were placed in jobs on graduation, many were so attached to the city that they were unwilling to go to the difficult places. A small number of students even degenerated into anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and counter-revolutionaries. Three of the seven students of the algebra specialized group of the "54" class became Rightists. In 1956, three out of the 10 graduates of the semi-conductor physics specialized group of the department of physics also became Rightists. These shocking facts are still refresh in our memory.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally, began in the educational position and most penetratingly exposed and criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Since the working class moved into the realm of the superstructure to lead the educational revolution, our school has resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and persisted in taking class struggle as the key link and putting first the transformation of students' thinking. In the new Peking University of today, the first big poster that greets a new student when he enters the gate reads: "Worker-peasant-soldier students go to university, manage it and transform it with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought." After several years of study, they have further raised their Marxist theoretical level and consciousness of class and line struggles. They assiduously study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, seriously transform their world outlook, and arm their heads with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the political movement, they take a firm stand and a clearcut attitude, and play the role as a new force. From them we have derived courage and strength, inspiring us to take an active part in practical struggle. Their effort to implement Chairman Mao's thinking on the educational revolution, to break down conservative practices and to persist in innovation and creation has often given us stimulation. They say proudly: "The people send us to university, and we go to university for the sake of the people." They consciously resist the corruption of bourgeois ideas and criticize the concept of bourgeois rights. Many students asked to return to the countryside after graduation and to be promoters in restricting bourgeois rights and reducing the three major differences. They come from and do not forget the workers and peasants. They learn from the workers and peasants and always want to be workers and peasants themselves. All of this has inspired us, making us feel that this political consciousness and state of mind of the worker-peasant-soldier students are beyond students of the old university ruled by the revisionist line.

As to how to assess the quality of vocational work, it, too, must be judged from the standpoint of the line, and not by how many classes one has attended or how many books one has read. It should be judged by students'

ability to analyze and solve problems. The quality of vocational work is by no means simply a vocational problem for here there is first of all a question of political orientation. No matter how much knowledge is required, it would be useless if the orientation was wrong. Dominated by the revisionist educational line, the old Peking University openly encouraged students to become famed scholars and specialists. Corrupted by this idea, the students let self-interest limit their field of vision. When writing theses, they often vied with each other for the best advice, the best subject, and the first chance for publication, and they even kept from each other what they had discovered. Such a guiding thought determined that they could only look for subjects from magazines and trailed behind the foreigners. But today, our worker-peasant-soldier students always link their study with the great goal of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They first of all pay attention to the question of orientation and line in science and technology. They always regard a battle to crack a technical nut as a political battle, a battle to win glory, to break the monopoly of science and technology by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and to contribute to the effort to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level. This year's graduates of the semi-conductor physics specialty of the electronic instrument plant spend the last year or more studying in conjunction with the research on and manufacture of a kind of ultra high-speed integrated circuits. These ultra high-speed integrated circuits are urgently needed for the research on and manufacture of a giant high-speed computer in our country. When this task was proposed, many teachers hesitated in view of its magnitude. But when the worker-peasant-soldier students heard that the imperialists, in order to restrict us, raised a number of outrageous demands during the negotiations for the sale of a giant computer to our country, they became extremely angry. They said: to defeat the challenge of the imperialists, we would take it up even if the task were harder. So, they accepted this combat task with resolve. In this technical war, they "seek neither fame nor gain, but single-mindedly devote themselves to winning glory for the socialist motherland." They often worked continuously for hours. After several months of joint effort, they finally produced a prototype, and production in small quantity has begun. This shows that a high degree of line struggle consciousness and a firm and correct political orientation enable the worker-peasant-soldier students to improve fast vocationally and reap solid fruit.

The old Peking University completely ignored integration of theory with practice and serving the three major revolutionary movements. At that time, the science faculty lasted for as long as six years, involving more than 30 courses. Students were confined to the campus all day long, learning by rote and suffering seriously from "three-divorces." As Lenin criticized, such a great variety of courses were "90 percent useless and 10 percent distorted." After reading so many useless books, students not only failed to acquire any real skill for building socialism, but had their thinking stamped with the brand of the bourgeois world outlook. Even if there were some useful knowledge, the students could not apply it as they went from theory to theory and from book to book. Viewed from the Marxist theory of knowledge, they started from the wrong place in learning. Learning by rote caused many students to be incapable of doing work, tilling the land, and fighting a war. The more they learned, the more stupid they became. They were nothing but bookworms. Some students of the mathematics department even

asked this question: "People say Party leadership is necessary. Please prove it to us with a mathematical formula." After they graduated and were placed in jobs, many students were unable to apply to practice the theories they had learned. They, as the worker masses said, knew "a lot of theories but nothing practical." All of this was the evil result of the revisionist educational line. Today, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, while practicing the open-door policy and organizing teaching in relation to combat tasks and typical products, we follow the Marxist line of knowledge, "practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge," in order to enable the students to achieve two flying leaps in knowledge in the course of study. Thus, the knowledge they acquire is relatively complete. For the past several years, the teachers and students of the mathematics department have successively gone to several hundred units including factories, mines, villages, and scientific research institutes in Peking and other areas to carry out on-the-spot investigations and organize teaching in conjunction with combat tasks and typical products. They have establish links with several dozen units, and undertaken 56 scientific research projects involving 96 subjects. Among these, 13 filled the blanks in the country, 24 reached the national advanced level, and 37 were applied to industrial and agricultural production. In respect to applied mathematics and computation methods, four fell into the category of projects that were barely initiated in the world in the 1970's. In the field of basic theoretical research, five yielded important progress, with some reaching the international advanced level. These tasks involved agriculture, industry, geology, hydrology, petrochemistry, digital communications, precision instruments, high energy physics, etc. Thanks to such wide-ranging practice, the students have considerably raised their ability to analyze and solve problems. After completing the computation for a certain precision instrument, the 3rd-year class students of the mathematics specialty and their teachers, sharing the desire of the workers, peasants and soldiers to step up building of socialism, shattered the foreign conventions and created something new boldly. They advanced a new program for circuit design, enabling the precision instrument to reach the international level. When studying experimental design, a student of the first-year probability class on his own initiative made use of his spare time and went back to his former factory. There, together with the worker masters and applying what he had learned, he conducted a scientific experiment to produce a new electronic component. This considerably shortened the original production time and improved the quality. In September last year, he attended a national conference on probability statistical work and delivered a report on the results of his experiment and research, receiving favorable comments from the participants. The 35 graduation projects carried out by the first group of worker-peasant-soldier students taking the semi-conductor physics specialty of the electronic instrument plant likewise yielded fruitful results, with some filling the blanks in the country and some reaching the national advanced level, and basically all have been applied to production and scientific research.

How do the worker-peasant-soldier students get on with their study of basic theoretical knowledge? On this point, the farrago in the educational circles accuses us of "under-estimating theory" and "basically dropping basic science." This is sheer nonsense. Take the two of us for example. Huang K'un specializes in semi-conductor. From 1956 to 1957, in cooperation

with another comrade, he wrote Semi-Conductor Physics. At that time, the emerging semi-conductor industry still had not been established in our country, so every chapter and passage of the book was based on foreign data. It was used as a textbook up to the eve of the great cultural revolution. The semi-conductor industry in our country made considerable headway in a period of ten years. Yet this textbook, based on foreign data, had never been revised. After studying these theories which fell behind practice, the students not only found them useless, but were unwittingly bound by foreign conventions. But in the practice of the educational revolution over the last few years, both teachers and students have worked together to reform old teaching materials. On the basis of teaching, scientific research and production, they have, through penetrating investigations, learned from the workers with practical experience and revolutionary technicians. They have compiled and written eight sets of new teaching materials geared to the needs of production and scientific research, including Semi-Conductor Physics rewritten by old Huang in cooperation with other comrades. These teaching materials are closely related to the reality of our country's semi-conductor development, summing up the practical experience of the Chinese working class as well as subjecting it to a theoretical analysis. They are advanced and practical in content and praised by the students and the masses of workers and technicians. It may be asked: When we use such teaching materials to teach students, do we teach theory or do we want to do away with theory? Is the level of theoretical teaching higher or lower than what it was before the great cultural revolution? Does this small incident not suffice to show the absurdity of those who denounce us for "under-estimating theory" and "basically dropping basic science" and that the conception of quality that "the present is not as good as the past" does not stand?

In September last year, a foreign solid physics survey group visited the Peking University. Huang K'un was among those who received them. During their visit, four second- and third-year worker-peasant-soldier students of the physics department separately made academic reports to them on semi-conductor laser, low-temperature physics, and magnetism. After that, the foreign visitors put to them a number of questions about research and work progress. This actually was an oral test for the students. They answered the questions one by one right then and there. The foreign visitors commented: "The analysis is quite thorough, and mathematics and physics are rather closely integrated." They admitted that "this form of training yields highly satisfactory results," and students thus trained were of "high quality."

Facts speak louder than words. The educational revolution since the great proletarian cultural revolution has existed for only several years, but it has fully demonstrated its infinite vitality. Both politically and vocationally, the quality of the worker-peasant-soldier university students is far higher than that of the students trained by the old university before the great cultural revolution. All these are results of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, reforming the old educational system and the old teaching policies and methods, enrolling students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience, running schools with an open door, integrating theory with practice and closely combining education with productive labor.

During the educational revolution over the years, we have worked and fought with the worker-peasant-soldier students day and night. The students often have heart-to-heart chats with us and fervently care for and help us. This has given an impetus to the transformation of our world outlook. Before the great cultural revolution, Tuan Hsüeh-fu did research on "ultimate drive" with the desire to leave his name in the history of mathematics and the hope to seek out "admirers" abroad. As a Chinese scientific worker, the root of his scientific research was planted in foreign land, and it was divorced from the needs of China's revolution and construction. Yet, he thought that he might "keep his admirers abroad." Having participated in the educational revolution over the years, old Tuan has been greatly inspired by the vigorous revolutionary spirit of the worker-peasant-soldier students. He has come to realize that "The question of for whom is a fundamental question, one of principle." As he has heightened his thinking, his mentality has changed vastly. Now, though suffering from serious myopia and cataract peculiar to old people and having been operated for rectum cancer, he still regularly goes to factories to learn from the workers and make investigations so as to develop his special qualifications. Together with other teachers and students, he solved a relatively complicated computation problem posed by a related department, with the computation efficiency raised by over 1,400 times. We have profoundly realized that only the practice of the three major revolutionary movements is the source of science and technology, and only the worker-peasant-soldier masses are our true admirers. Today, seeing the sturdy growth of the worker-peasant-soldier students in the university makes us feel young. We deeply understand that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." What kind of people are trained depends on what kind of line is followed. Experiences, both positive and negative, cause us to bear greater hatred for the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and to love Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line still more. We firmly believe that the line of the educational revolution is correct and the orientation is right. We should go on taking this road, and our future will surely be more brilliant!

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How Do We Launched the Big Debate on the Educational Revolution?

by

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(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

Over the years, like other departments of the university, our construction engineering department, taking class struggle as the key link, has continued to consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, seriously implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and pushed forward various kinds of work related to teaching, scientific research and production.

Every step forward in the educational revolution is invariably taken through struggle. In the second half of last year, some in the educational circles spread everywhere various kinds of absurd arguments, saying that "education before the great cultural revolution had also yielded great results," that "the educational revolution since the cultural revolution has solved no problem," and that therefore "we should turn back." And so on. This poses us a basic question: do we need a revolution in education? Do we have to turn schools into instruments of proletarian dictatorship? Should we uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and carry the educational revolution through to the end or reverse the verdict on the revisionist educational line and restore the rule of schools by bourgeois intellectuals? This question must be made clear through debate. With the concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and under the leadership of the CCP Peking Municipal Committee, our school has since November last year mobiilized its teachers, students and staff members to launch a popular big debate on the educational revolution in view of the above-mentioned farrago. With everyone taking an active part in this battle of words, a high tide of the big debate shaped up quickly.

Under the leadership of the University's Party Committee, our department mobilized all to hold a big debate on questions of substance, guiding them to use the method of comparative analysis and stressing the need to present facts and reason things out. The teachers and students of the entire department spoke extensively of the fact that the bourgeoisie imposed a dictatorship over the proletariat in the old schools in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution and of the excellent situation on the educational front since the great cultural revolution. Many comrades, citing their personal experience, angrily denounced and criticized the revisionist educational line for its control of old schools. In the past, the architectural speciality of our department, in enrolling students, not only imposed the standard of "high marks" on them but also asked them to take the additional test of fine arts, with the result that the vast number of young workers and peasants were turned away. Teaching materials were in most cases based on architectural textbooks of capitalist countries and the Soviet revisionists, and the students were sold the feudal, capitalist and revisionist stuff. For instance, students were asked to draw up plans for high-standard small flats each with an area of 500 square meters and villas, and it was said that "this is fantastic light music." When the students did not know how to design these, they were taken to visit high-class houses of former capitalists in order to "cultivate" the students' taste and admiration for the bourgeois way of life. Poisoned by the revisionist

educational line, many students with good family background changed their thoughts and feelings. A host of shocking facts caused everyone to see more clearly that the bourgeoisie indeed imposed the dictatorship over the proletariat in the schools during the 17 years before the great cultural revolution. Chairman Mao says: "The period of schooling must be shortened, a revolution must be carried out in education, and the rule of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not continue." This was a pungent criticism of the revisionist educational line.

Citing a large number of facts about the earth-shaking changes that have taken place in the university since the great cultural revolution, the teachers and students warmly sing the praises of Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. Over the past several years, like the rest of our university, our department has followed to the letter Chairman Mao's policy of "making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labor," put changing the students' thinking in the first place, and organized the worker-peasant-soldier students to seriously read the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and to go to factories, villages and army units to take part in the three major revolutionary movements. With proletarian politics in command of vocational work and studying science and technology assiduously for the revolution, breaking down superstitions and freeing their thought, the worker-peasant-soldier students designed China's first underground water-tight oil storage, thereby writing a "glory-winning song" for the educational revolution. In conjunction with teaching and learning, they completed the design of a new-type vegetable hot house and a giant passenger railway station and carried out a number of scientific research projects involving the treatment of polluted water from industry and reform of factory walls, thus winning the praise of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Such comparative analysis made it clear for everyone that whereas in the past schools were ruled by bourgeois intellectuals, now they are led by the working class; that whereas in the past children of the workers and peasants were turned away, now workers, peasants and soldiers go to universities, manage them, and transform them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; and that whereas in the past bourgeois intellectual aristocrats were trained, now, with class struggle as the main course and the open-door policy adopted in education, laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture are trained. These facts illustrate that the great cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and the orientation of the educational revolution is entirely correct. Through putting facts on the table and reasoning things out, a powerful counter-blow was dealt to the farrago in the educational circles, and at the same time, the broad masses were given a profound education on the line and made to be aware that in order to adhere to the Party's basic line, it is necessary to see soberly that revisionism is still the main danger at present. They have thus further deepened their understanding of the nature, significance and purpose of this movement.

With a view to making a success of the big debate on the educational revolution, we organize the teachers, students and staff members of the entire department to seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's ideas concerning revolution in education, and to study again Chairman Mao's series of instructions concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, so that the big debate is closely integrated with theoretical studies. We know

that only by mastering Marxism-Leninism as a sharp weapon can we tell right from wrong on the line in the course of the debate, hit at the farrago where it hurts most, and develop the big debate in depth, and can we explain the truth clearly in order to convince people and raise the ability of cadres and the masses to discern revisionism. For instance, some comrades, when refuting the fallacy that the educational revolution "drags back the four kinds of modernization," could not grasp the essence at first. Later, they studied again and again Lenin's "More on Trade Union, the Present Situation, and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin" and Chairman Mao's relevant thesis, and then came to realize this and other fallacies went against the Marxist-Leninist basic principle that "politics cannot but take precedence over economics." They saw that these fallacies were actually reprints of the old revisionists' theory of productive forces as they discussed the four kinds of modernization apart from the Party's basic line. In this way, the big-character posters they put up were fully logical and convincing, having the effect of pushing the big debate. Take another instance. Those who attacked the educational revolution quoted out of context from Lenin's article "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" in a vain attempt to create a theoretical basis for their fallacies. When the big debate began, some comrades did not see its essence clearly. In view of this, some Party branches organized one and all to undertake a serious study of "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," studying and making comparative analysis at the same time. After delving deeply into Lenin's essay, everyone saw clearly that quoting out of context was designed to tamper with and distort Marxism. In "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" Lenin repeatedly dwelt on the class character of education and stressed the need to effect a "radical reform" of the old education. He pointed out that to bring up successors to the cause of proletarian revolution, it was necessary to "link up every step of its /school's/ teaching, training and education with participation in the general struggle of all the toilers against the exploiters," to "transform" the old education with a critical attitude, to study Marxism in the course of mass struggles, etc. All of this was regarded by Lenin as "the principal and most important question" and "the general key." But this was ignored by the farrago makers, and what was left was just study of vocational knowledge. Everyone felt with a greater sense of urgency that "our struggle needs Marxism." Practice proves that those classes and groups in the university which have carried out the debate rather well and have a higher level of criticism are those which have grasped the theoretical studies more tightly and realistically. By doing so, they have not only seriously and penetratingly studied Marxism but also continued to push the big debate toward greater depth.

The current big debate on the educational revolution has been conducted step by step, under leadership and according to the unified arrangements of the Party Committee. We do not have "link-up" inside and outside the department or inside and outside the university. We have no "fighting groups." We build no mountain strongholds, and we do not stop work or stop classes. "All actions are taken as they are ordered." This has insured the smooth and healthy development of the movement. An important condition for strengthening the Party leadership and carrying out the movement well is to make a success of training cadres. For the past month and more, by means of holding enlarged sessions of the department's Party committee, cadres forums and study classes for cadres holding the post of Party branch secretary and higher posts, we have enabled the Party organizations and cadres at various levels to continue to make clear the essence, significance and the

guiding thought of this debate and to play their effective leading role in the course of the debate. In addition, we frequently convene enlarged sessions of the Party committee and organize the cadres to seriously analyze and study the situation of the developing movement, to continue to sum up experience, to support and foster new things emerging from the movement, to eliminate all sorts of interference, and to grasp the general orientation of struggle. Besides, closely integrated with Party building, this movement is looked upon as offering the best opportunity to give Party members and cadres an education on the Party's basic line, to temper Party members and cadres and observe activists in the midst of struggle, and to give a full scope to the role of Party branches as fighting fortresses and that of Party members as vanguards and models. At the same time, those activists who have been tested through the movement and found to be qualified for Party membership are promptly admitted into the Party, so that new blood will continue to be injected into Party organizations. At present, Party members and cadres of our department are standing in the van of the movement with a militant stance, taking the lead in learning and criticizing not only as commanders but also as fighters. Party organizations at various levels, having been steeled in struggle, have become more vigorous and stronger in fighting capacity.

We realize that to make a success of the current big debate, it is both necessary to strengthen the Party leadership and to mobilize the masses with a free hand, trust and rely on them without reservation. The masses are real heroes, and among them there is vast latent enthusiasm for socialism. They have accumulated rich experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution and considerably raised their consciousness of line struggle and policy level. Party organizations should stand in the van of the mass movement and boldly lead them forward. The present big debate on the educational revolution is the continuation and development of the great cultural revolution, and we must fully arouse the masses so that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can be grasped by the masses. In order to arouse the masses we repeatedly explain to the masses the nature, significance, purpose and policies of the movement. In addition, in view of different characteristics among various sections of people, we carry out penetrating and meticulous ideological work through the organizational life of the Party and the League and through various types of forums, investigation meetings, meetings to exchange ideas, and study classes. As for those who have spoken some wrong words or done some wrong deeds, we also explain the policies to them, relieve them of their anxieties, and encourage them to recognize their mistakes and continue to raise their consciousness in struggle. Today, both teachers and students are actively taking part in the debate, with many teachers studying with their students their own personal experience and other positive and negative experience so as to jointly develop the mass revolutionary criticism and fight in unity. Many old teachers wrote big-character posters and critical articles through the night, and vied with each other in speaking at criticism meetings. The vast numbers of worker-peasant-soldier students constitute the new force of this movement. Students of the graduating class, shouting awe-inspiring fighting slogans, energetically fight on the battleground of the big debate. The newly enrolled first-year students regard this movement as the first lesson of class struggle and plunge into battle in high spirits.

With the deepening of the movement, teachers, students and staff members of our department have greatly changed their spiritual features, with their revolutionary enthusiasm soaring to unprecedented heights. On the eve of their being placed in jobs, the dozen worker-peasant-soldier students of the graduating class took the lead in submitting to the University Party Committee a request to go to the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau to build up the border regions. Their revolutionary action received immediate response from all the other worker-peasant-soldier students of the graduating class. Within a couple of days we received several hundred letters of pledges and applications. From early morning till mid-night, group after group of students, cadres and teachers arrived at the office of the University Party Committee to make their pledges. They all proudly indicated that they would "welcome with a smile the violent snowstorms of the highlands, being resolved to make revolution in the border regions." "We want to have a taste of all the hardships of the world and dare to make the sun and the moon shine in a new sky." They resolutely asked to go to the border regions, to the rural villages, to the mountainous areas, to those places where struggle is the hardest and the needs of the revolution are the greatest, so that with practical action they can refute those fallacies attacking and smearing the educational revolution. An old teacher said emotionally: "I've taught for several decades, but I've never seen anything like a whole class of university graduates so resolutely asking to go to the Chinghai-Tibet plateau, nor have I ever seen a university graduate asking to become a peasant. Now, with such good students, we teachers can justifiably feel proud of ourselves." He and many other teachers, too, resolutely asked to go to the Chinghai-Tibet plateau with the workers-peasant-soldier students and fight in unity with them. Said the junior class students: "Students of the graduating class set us an example. With their practical action they have written a big-character poster which will never lose its color. To make it even brighter, we must pass it down from year to year and carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end!" The big debate on the educational revolution has led to the appearance in the whole department of a heart-warming scene marked by seething enthusiasm for building socialism, and new progress has been achieved in various teaching reforms, running the university with an open door, and building teaching materials. Everyone is resolved to make his new contributions and create a new level in teaching, scientific research and production. All of this is a fruit of the educational revolution, a powerful rebuff to the farrago. We will never let down our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for all their earnest expectations for us. We will persistently criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and, according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end!

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Magnificent Poems That Inspire Us in Battle

- Studying Chairman Mao's two poems

by

Yüan Shui-po (袁水拍)

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The publication of Chairman Mao's two poems "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" at a time when the people of the whole country are striding with revolutionary vigor into another militant spring is of immense joy to China's cultural circles. It is also a momentous event in the political life of the Chinese people. Here I would like to discuss my initial personal observation after studying them, and invite the readers to correct me if I am wrong.

These two poems, written in a pithy style and with lively imageries, epitomize the excellent situation in the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. With profound feeling they pay tribute to the indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people and eloquently point out to the whole world the truth that Marxism will surely triumph over revisionism and the revolutionary people will sweep away all pests. Integrating revolutionary lyricism with the epic style, the two poems are at once a song of victory and a clarion call to continue the revolution. They are a tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people to closely follow the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, take class struggle as the key link, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, go on consolidating and developing the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, oppose restoration and regression, build China into a modern and strong socialist state and struggle for the lofty cause of communism.

These two poems are splendid examples of integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. The theme in both, whether in singing the praises of the people or hurling sarcasms at the enemy, is the same: strategically, the enemy is nothing to be afraid of and difficulties are not to be feared. "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary people will overcome every obstacle, turn the old world "upside down" and scale the heights of the great revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou," written in a leisurely and flowing style, depicts the fulgent splendor of the cradle of the Chinese revolution--Chingkangshan--today, and extols the socialist revolution and construction in this old revolutionary base area. The dismal darkness of the old China has been banished and in its place is a luxuriant and vibrant scene where "orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." Isn't this exactly a miniature of our socialist motherland? From these resplendent lines we can feel keenly the elation of of our great leader Chairman Mao who returned "from afar to climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt" after a lapse of 38 years.

"And the road mounts skyward." This line depicts the landscape, but the metaphoric imagery calls to our mind the revolutionary road of Chingkangshan which led to the Chinese people's liberation. "Past scenes are transformed." Victory has been won under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A correct line emerges and develops through continuous struggle against erroneous lines. Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan in 1965. Thirty-eight years before that, the revolutionary war led by the Chinese Communist Party met with defeat in 1927, after which Chairman Mao liquidated the Right opportunist line of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and mapped out the road of agrarian revolution and armed struggle, thereby saving the Chinese revolution from the dire predicament brought about by the capitulationists. The armed workers and peasants raised aloft the red banner of an armed independent regime of workers and peasants and marched up Chingkangshan. Later, Chairman Mao fought the "Left" putschism of Chü Ch'iu-pai and the capitulationist ideas of Lin Piao who was seized with pessimism and despair for the future of the revolution. The enemy's repeated campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" were smashed and the first rural revolutionary base area was firmly established. Chingkangshan was the important starting point of the Chinese revolution and the Chingkangshan road is the road to the victory of the Chinese revolution. The road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, is a ladder that pierces through fogs and clouds, mounts skyward and leads to victory in the revolution.

"Once Huangyangchieh is passed, no other perilous place calls for a glance." Again this is about the landscape, and the landscape evokes memories of the past. It is a fusion of feelings with the natural setting. Depiction of the immediate scene embodies ideas of far-reaching significance. More than 30 years ago Chairman Mao wrote "Chingkangshan--to the melody Hsi Chiang Yüeh" extolling the battle fought at Huangyangchieh. Over 30 years later, Chairman Mao again mentions Huangyangchieh in his "Chingkangshan Revisited," stressing once more the historic significance of the battle to defend this pass. In the autumn of 1928 the Kuomintang reactionaries tried to destroy at one blow our Chingkangshan base area. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the young Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, fighting with a force of less than one battalion, hurled back the enemy units from Hunan and Kiangsi, achieving the miracle of defeating a numerically superior and powerful enemy with a small and weak force. The line "No other perilous place calls for a glance" points to the fact that Huangyangchieh is the most perilous and crucial of the five passes on the Chingkang Mountains and that once it is passed, no other place calls for a glance. This line also signifies that the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people who have withstood such severe tests as the battle at Huangyangchieh and who have been tempered in revolutionary storms over the past few decades will never be cowed by any hardship or peril. These majestic and powerful lines are an apt description of the revolutionary optimism of the proletariat who slights all difficulties and despises all enemies, and an expression of the heroic spirit of the proletariat determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield.

"Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." Looking afar from the top of the Lohsiao mountain range, one saw a forest of flags and banners fluttering in the wind and thunderstorm. At that time the Red Army had only a force of less than four regiments in the Chingkang Mountains and the local population was only 2,000. The

stark fact was the enemy was stronger than we. But the newborn revolutionary force which represented China's future was full of vitality and no reactionaries could vanquish it. A single spark can start a prairie fire. The revolution finally won victory. "Thirt-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers." In the long history of mankind, 38 years is just a twinkling of the eye; but the revolutionary people, once they grasp the truth of Marxism and have a correct line, can work wonders. Events between the establishment of the first revolutionary base area in the Chingkang Mountains and the founding of the People's Republic of China and, indeed, the entire history of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, have fully testified to this great truth. "We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." It was with such magnificent spirit and powerful words that Chairman Mao depicted the lofty aspirations of the Chinese proletariat. In the more than two decades since the founding of New China, we have smashed blockades and subversive conspiracies by imperialism and social-imperialism and we have gone through four major two-line struggles and transformed a poor and backward country into a socialist state with initial prosperity. And in another 20 years or so, we will certainly frustrate resistance and sabotage by any enemy, triumph over revisionism and build China into a modern and powerful socialist country and, thenceforth, forge ahead on the road of continued revolution. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Like music that is full of vigor, these two concluding lines impart to us inexhaustible strength. The Chinese revolution has already won great victories but the road ahead is even longer and the tasks more arduous and greater. As long as we adhere to the Party's basic line, carry forward the dauntless revolutionary spirit, dare to fight all class enemies at home and abroad and know how to fight them, we can certainly surmount every difficulty and interference, and continuously push forward the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao" was written in the autumn of 1965. That was a year after the downfall of Khrushchev, and his successors Brezhnev and company have since been carrying on and developing his revisionist line. It was at this important hour when the international communist movement needed most to persevere in the struggle against revisionism that Chairman Mao wrote this poem. A unique artistic epitome and graphic summing-up of the great polemic between Marxism and revisionism in the contemporary era, this poem forcefully exposes the feebleness of modern revisionism and portrays with great vividness the image of the new tsars as mere paper tigers. In popular language and easy to understand because of its colloquialism, the poem is full of humor. As Engels put it, to conduct a fight with a sense of humor "is the best proof of how sure they /the workers/ are of their cause, and how conscious of their superiority."

The dialogue between the roc and the sparrow is adapted from the fable entitled "Hsiao Yao Yu" in Chuang Tzu. Chairman Mao gave a recast of this ancient fable and enriched it with the important theme of the contemporary struggle against revisionism. Here the roc personifies the Marxists and the sparrow in the bush refers to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

The first stanza of the poem describes the entirely different outlooks of the roc and the sparrow on the world as it is today. In fact, the contrast between two typical images here is a contrast between two classes, two lines and two world outlooks. "The roc wings fanwise, soaring ninety thousand li

and rousing a raging cyclone." This gives a very vivid picture of the militancy and grander of the roc spreading its wings in the teeth of a storm. "The blue sky on his back, he looks down to survey man's world with its towns and cities." This speaks of an excellent world situation in which the seas are rising and the continents are rocking as the people's revolution and national-liberation wars, coordinating with each other, surge forward wave upon wave. Scared out of its wits by the excellent revolutionary situation in which "gunfire licks the heavens" and "shells pit the earth," the sparrow in his bush mumbles and sputters in great panic. Revolution, which is a grand festival so far as the people are concerned, is "one hell of a mess" and a disaster to the revisionist overlords. Thus these lines have thoroughly exposed the feeble nature and reactionary stand of these creatures who are afraid of and hostile to the people's revolution and national-liberation wars.

The second and last stanza of the poem exposes the hypocrisy of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in talking pompously about "a world without arms, without troops and without wars" and in mouthing pseudo-communism. The sparrow cries: "I want to flit and fly away." But where? "To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills," a most wonderful place, it is said. But all this is baloney. "Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon two years ago?" This refers to the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty the Soviet revisionists concluded with the United States and Britain in 1963. A treaty of this kind, to all intents and purposes, was a fraud perpetrated by the men in the Kremlin to betray the interests of the Soviet people and the people of the world at large; it was also a manifestation showing how they and the imperialists deceive, blackmail and contend with each other overtly and covertly. While paying lip service to "disarmament" every day, they are actually engaged in arms expansion. In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have produced more agreements on nuclear weapons limitation following the signing of the "triple pact," they have since engaged in a nuclear race that has become more intensified with each passing day, and there are endless scandals about how each is trying to pull the other's leg. The lie about "a world without arms, without troops and without wars" can in no way cover up the expansionist nature of the Soviet revisionists. Their effort to create the false phenomenon of a "lasting peace" is actually meant to serve their purpose of seizing world hegemony and building a big colonial empire of the new tsars.

As to the "appetizing dish of goulash," it is no more than a dud check signed by Khrushchev to fool the people. Khrushchev never made good his promise and only made himself a laughing stock in history; this is still of practical significance today. Since Brezhnev took office, he has proved himself an equal to his predecessor, with the result that the economy in the Soviet Union is now a mess, the agricultural crisis is worse than ever and news of crop failures keeps pouring in. The rank-and-file office workers and students in the cities, to keep their body and soul together, have found it necessary to go to the countryside to look for even the tiniest pieces of potatoes, and little children are forced to glean the "badly needed grain" left in the fields. Meanwhile, a handful of bourgeois elements are living in extravagance and dissipation with, of course, more beef than they can consume. And the broad masses, by contrast, are leading a most miserable life and becoming increasingly impoverished with each passing day, and do not even have potatoes at their meals! If one takes note of the polarization between

the rich and the poor in the present-day Soviet Union, it is clear that to advertise "goulash communism" is, to put it bluntly, merely an attempt to cover up the sanguinary fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

/The famous T'ang Dynasty poet Pai Chü-i (772-846) wrote/ "It is said the the elfland's hills are in the seas, the hills are somewhere in the misty void." This is a good description of "the world without arms, without troops and without wars" and "goulash communism" trumpeted by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. But they are all windy nonsense. Chairman Mao has often taught us that we are still living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. "Look you, the world is being turned upside down." Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become an irresistible historical trend. The factors for both revolution and war are clearly increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, the world situation invariably develops in the direction favorable to the people. The people of the whole world, including the Soviet people, have come to see more and more profoundly the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Looking fierce and not to be challenged, it is in actual fact outwardly strong but inwardly weak; it is beset with crises and the going is getting tougher and tougher. Doing things in a perverse way, it runs counter to the objective law of social development and pits itself against the people at home and in the rest of the world. It cannot escape the fate of being buried completely by the people.

These two poems by Chairman Mao, like his 37 other poems published before, profoundly reflect the tremendous changes in the history of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. "Chingkangshan Revisited" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue" were written on the eve of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the light of the situation in class struggle both at home and abroad at that time, we keenly realize the profound political and immediate significance of these two brilliant poems. Taking into account the practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, Chairman Mao has summed up the experience and lessons of the international communist movement, the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in particular, and indicated the direction of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not long after he wrote the two poems Chairman Mao, with great revolutionary valor, initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is a great revolution aimed at combating and preventing revisionism, and a great practice "to climb Chingkangshan" again. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the whole country, displaying fearless revolutionary spirit, finally demolished the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-ch'i as its chieftain after repeated trials of strength between the classes. Following this, they waged a struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Thus the intrigues of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao as well as Khrushchev and Brezhnev to restore capitalism in China were dashed to pieces.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This is a summing-up by Chairman Mao of the Chinese people's prolonged revolutionary struggle and an encouragement to the whole Party and the whole nation to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It inspires us to continue our march forward and scale one height after another.

An undaunted revolutionary spirit was necessary in order to overthrow the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; such spirit was also needed in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Today we need to keep and make great efforts to carry forward this spirit in order to defend, consolidate and develop the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. Let's forever follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, continuously scale new heights in socialist revolution and socialist construction and win one fresh victory after another. Our goal must be achieved, and it will be achieved.

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Penetratingly Carry Out the Two-Road Struggle in the Countryside

- Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the publication of the preface and introductory notes to Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside

by

Hsiang Hui (向晖)

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In 1955, after publishing the report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," the great leader Chairman Mao again personally presided over the editing of the book Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, wrote the preface and introductory notes, and once again systematically elucidated the line, principles and policies of our Party for rural work. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a vigorous and flourishing revolutionary scene appeared in China's vast countryside following a series of political movements after cooperativization and the setting up of people's communes, and especially after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The movement to learn from Tachai and to build Tachai-type counties is now developing with sky-rocketing enthusiasm. Under such an excellent situation, how are we to deepen the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, further consolidate and develop the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out socialist revolution and construction in the countryside still better? Studying again Chairman Mao's great teachings, as contained in his preface and introductory notes, may give us profound education.

The agricultural cooperativization movement represented a major change in the relations of production in China's countryside. A violent debate and struggle once developed within the Party around the question of whether or not cooperativization was necessary. The essence of the struggle was whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road. Taking the stand of the landlord and bourgeois classes and echoing with capitalist forces in society, Liu Shao-ch'i, chieftain of the Right opportunist line within the Party, wildly opposed the agricultural cooperativization movement and made all-out efforts to pour cold water on the masses. Moreover, he tossed out the so-called reactionary policy of "drastic contraction" and closed down a large number of cooperatives. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out, "The agricultural cooperation movement, from the very beginning, has been a severe ideological and political struggle. No cooperative can be established without going through such a struggle." The publication of Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside was an answer to the slander and attack by the Right opportunists against the cooperation movement. The preface and introductory notes written by Chairman Mao, with Marxist scientific logics and indisputable facts, denounced their fallacies and crimes of opposing the revolutionary mass movement, warmly supported this new socialist thing, cooperativization, highly appraised the enthusiasm of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in taking the socialist road, and established for us a brilliant model of maintaining socialism and opposing capitalism in the countryside.

Chairman Mao in an introductory note points out profoundly: "Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way. After a cooperative is formed it must go through many more struggles before it becomes strong. Even then, the moment it relaxes its efforts, it may collapse." This teaching of Chairman Mao's is not only a scientific summing-up of the practical experience of the agricultural cooperativization movement, but also an incisive analysis of the law of class struggle in the historical period of socialism. It elucidates the protracted nature of the struggle between the two roads in the countryside not only from the aspect of the economic base but also from that of the superstructure. It clearly informs us that the establishment of socialist collective ownership did not put an end to the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside. Whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road is still a fundamental question in the countryside. From agricultural cooperativization up to the present, this struggle has not stopped for a single day, and will still exist for a long time to come. Not only are members of the overthrown exploiting classes still around, but they are not reconciled to their defeat and always dream of restorating the old order. Moreover, there are still soil and conditions giving rise to new bourgeois elements. Class struggle in society will invariably be reflected within the collective economy, within the Party and leading bodies at various levels. There are people taking the capitalist road both outside and inside the Party; such people were found in the past, are found today, and will still be found in the future. We cannot relax our vigilance simply because we have had one great proletarian cultural revolution. We must bear firmly in mind the Party's basic line, remind ourselves of class struggle every year, every month and every day, and continue to firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Using socialism to defeat capitalism and Marxism to defeat revisionism and strengthening all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie--this is a basic task for our Party and for rural work as well in the whole of the historical period of socialism. Why must we learn from Tachai? Because Tachai is a red banner planted by Chairman Mao for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Tachai has always stuck to the Party's basic line, taking class struggle as the key link and following the socialist road. It has never stopped criticizing and struggling against revisionism and capitalism, never relaxed its efforts at carrying out socialist revolution in the economic base and the sphere of the superstructure, and never forgotten the need to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In learning from Tachai, we must grasp this fundamental. In judging how a place measures up in learning from Tachai, we must not look at its income and output alone, but, more importantly, we must see whether it has truly learned Tachai's basic experience, whether the ideological and political line of its leading body is properly oriented, whether the question of orientation and road for the socialist economy has properly been settled, whether the socialist ground in the countryside has been consolidated and whether all-round proletarian dictatorship has been strengthened over the bourgeoisie in the various spheres of politics, economy, ideology and culture. There are at present six criteria for building Tachai-type counties, but these criteria are all governed by the Party's basic line. Only by grasping this key link, class struggle, and mobilizing

the broad masses of people to criticize revisionism and capitalism and practice socialism can there be hope for building Tachai-type counties throughout the nation. If we abandon this key link and run purely after production targets and figures, we not only will not achieve the criteria of a Tachai-type county, but will take the wrong line and depart from the socialist road.

Although some comrades pay lip service to class struggle, in actual work they bury themselves in production, thinking that as long as the collective economy is developed, capitalism will be discredited. This idea is wrong. Chairman Mao in his introductory note to the article "A Serious Lesson" points out clearly: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." The relationship between politics and economics, between revolution and production and between class struggle and other work is one between the commander and the commanded and between the kev link and everything else. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Class struggle is the key link, and everything else hinges on it." Rural work is of many ramifications, but the most fundamental task is to firmly grasp this key link, class struggle, to place politics in command of economics, to use revolution to promote production, and to use the key link to lead everything else before we can succeed in pushing agricultural production and other work forward. In all production and other activities there is a question of which class to serve and which class will benefit and what road to take and what line to follow, and none of this is not influenced and restrained by class struggle. If we do not grasp class struggle, there will be no orientation and drive, and no work can be done well. The main reason why collective production in some places developed slowly is that no effective effort was made to grasp class struggle or to criticize capitalism or to arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. The experiences of many advanced units in learning from Tachai show that strong socialist collective economy has developed in the midst of the struggle to criticize and overcome the tendencies toward capitalism. As long as we grasp this key link, class struggle, close the road toward capitalism, and fully mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses, agricultural production will advance and develop with greater, faster, better and more economical results, it will be not too difficult to "fulfill the targets," "to exceed a thousand catties per mow," and it will entirely be possible to make a success of farmland capital construction, step up the tempo of agricultural mechanization, develop commune-brigade industries, and realize scientific farming.

To study well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and apply the concept of class struggle to analyze and observe problems--this is our guarantee for developing socialism and opposing capitalism in rural work. In class society, all ideas are without exception stamped with the brand of a given class. All problems related to the three major revolutionary movements in the countryside, including the composition of leading bodies, formulation of production plans and distribution and marketing of produce, are accompanied by a struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. If we do not understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and are not good at looking at problems from the viewpoint of class struggle, we are bound to lose our bearings and will not be able to correctly execute the Party's line, policies and measures. To tell whether a leading body or a cadre has a high level and fighting power, the important thing is to see what line is followed and whether it or he is able to distinguish between right and wrong in the complex struggle and struggle against the wrong lines, words and actions. This is the basic skill for

doing leadership work, a skill that can only be acquired through seriously reading and studying in the practice of struggle. Mastering the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out class analysis of various words and actions will enable us to see clearly the essence of things through the appearance, and not to be confused by non-essential things. Only then can we better understand and carry out the Party's basic line, distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and between socialism and capitalism, instead of losing our bearings in the complex struggle.

Using the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guide in studying problems concerning the relations of production and paying attention to restricting bourgeois rights in this respect--this is an important aspect for us in keeping to the socialist road and opposing capitalism in the countryside. The fact that the struggle between the two roads in the countryside is prolonged and must be constantly grasped is inseparable from the prolonged existence of bourgeois rights. In 1958, Chairman Mao had brought up the question of restricting bourgeois rights. At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius won great victories, Chairman Mao once again put this question before the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it will be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." We should seriously appreciate Chairman Mao's instruction. Although basic victory was won in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in the countryside, the remnants of the individual economy still exist, and their transformation is still a drawn-out task. In those parts of the system of ownership where transformation has been completed, there is still the task of consolidating and improving them, and conditions must still be created to guide the peasants to go over from small collective ownership to large-scale collective ownership and hence to whole-people ownership in a gradual process. In the preface and introductory notes, Chairman Mao points out the orientation of advance. Bourgeois rights that exist in the system of ownership, the relationships between men and distribution are the soil and conditions giving rise to capitalism and new bourgeois elements. As for bourgeois rights, we still allow them to exist, but we must not allow them to grow, and "they can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Through studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must make this point clear to the broad masses. In actual work, we must not only mobilize the broad masses to persist in criticizing the idea of bourgeois rights in the struggle to criticize revisionism and capitalism, but we must also correctly implement the policies, pay attention to restricting bourgeois rights and strive to create conditions whereby it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise again. Tachai has set a very good example for us in this direction. Its experience tells us that as long as the ideological and political line of the leadership is correct, political and ideological work is done well, and the Party's various policies are correctly enforced, then it will be possible to guide the masses to energetically create the conditions for gradual restriction of bourgeois rights.

The struggle between the two roads in the countryside is manifested not only in the economic sphere but also in the superstructure. The superstructure and the economic base are a unity of opposites. Under general conditions, the economic base plays a decisive role, but the superstructure also reacts on the economic base and, under given conditions, also plays a decisive role. Whether importance is attached to the struggle in the superstructure has a direct bearing on whether the socialist position in the countryside can be consolidated and developed. In the preface and introductory notes, Chairman Mao makes a number of elaborations in this respect. Historical experience shows that when an exploiting class was overthrown politically and expropriated economically, it invariably would make the best use of the ideological and cultural spheres--"hereditary domains"--to frenziedly attack the proletariat from all aspects of the superstructure. Both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao did so. The struggle which is still raging between the two classes, two roads and the two lines in the superstructure and the farrago represented by the Right-deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts in the educational circles are an acute manifestation. In the countryside, a handful of class enemies have not given up this position up to now. They either use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and other ideas of the moribund classes to corrupt cadres and the masses or use the characteristics inherent in small producers to stir up capitalist ill winds, or use the traditional concepts in people's minds to attack and negate new socialist things. We definitely cannot relax our vigilance. A valuable experience of Tachai and advanced units in learning from it such as Hsiaochin-chuang is that they have developed the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the various spheres of the superstructure so that the superstructure can better serve the economic base. We must apply this and other experiences to the actual struggle to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, consolidate and develop the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the various spheres of the superstructure, actively support and develop new socialist things, continue to transform those parts of the superstructre that do not correspond to the economic base, and occupy all positions of the countryside with socialism.

To grasp properly the struggle between the two roads in the countryside and to stick to and develop the socialist orientation of agriculture--this represents the fundamental interests of the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members and reflects their common aspirations and demands. In carrying out socialist revolution and construction in the countryside, we should continue to keep to the Party's class line in the countryside, firmly rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the middle peasants, and bring the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses into full play. Chairman Mao in an introductory note says: "If the working class and the Communist Party want to use the spirit of socialism and the socialist system to completely transform the system prevailing throughout the countryside of small peasant holdings of the means of production, they can do so relatively easily only by relying on the masses of the former semi-proletarian poor peasants. Otherwise the transformation will be very difficult." In the agricultural cooperativization, the first half of 1955 was still marked by chaos, and a lot of farrago was uttered. However, as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line aroused the masses, in only a few months, the situation changed radically, with socialism ascending and capitalism descending. Agricultural cooperativization was quickly brought about.

It was also due to the mobilization of millions and millions of workers and peasants that the great proletarian cultural revolution triumphed over the interference and sabotage by the bourgeois reactionary line, smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and won a resounding victory in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, if we are to continue to push socialist revolution and construction in the countryside forward and make a success of the work of building Tachai-type counties, we must likewise bear in mind the two basic principles that "we must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party." As long as we firmly and resolutely implement the Party's class line in the countryside, arm the peasants with Mao Tsetung Thought, and mobilize all the people to criticize capitalism, there will be no market for capitalism nor a hiding place for class enemies. With all practicing socialism, new socialist things will keep on appearing and the cause of revolution and construction will keep on improving.

The socialist enthusiasm of the masses exists objectively, but it is important to be good at discovering it from its very essence. Why is it that some comrades dare not grasp class and production struggles boldly and are always afraid of this and that? An important reason is that they either fail to see or under-estimate the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. The broad masses of peasants, particularly the poor and lower-middle once, dislike those who practice capitalism, and insist on taking the socialist road. The fact that some places have remained backward for a long time is mainly not because conditions there are poor or the masses are backward, but because the ideological and political line of the leading bodies is wrong. The have neither fully mobilized the masses to carry out the struggle between the two roads nor beaten off the evil winds of capitalism, and this has resulted in the suppression of the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses, who are unable to develop their wisdom and strength. Chairman Mao points out: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." Practical experience has repeatedly proved that this is an infallible truth. Having the Marxist-Leninist line laid down by Chairman Mao as the guide and having the broad masses tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius--this is our basic condition for winning victories. We should get rid of the Right-deviationist conservative concept of not having faith in the masses, mobilize the people with a free hand, grasp revolution and promote production, hit out at the sabotage activities of class enemies, criticize capitalist tendencies, and rely on our own efforts in struggle to transform heaven and earth. In this way, we shall be able to transform our features on a scale and at a speed unwitnessed before, and enable the backward to become advanced and the advanced more advanced.

What do we rely on in arousing the enthusiasm of the masses? We rely on the Party's line and policies and on patient and meticulous political and ideological work. This demands that we adopt the method of putting facts on the table, reasoning things out and making analyses and carry out penetrating education on the Party's basic line among Party members, cadres and the masses in the countryside so as to "continue to instill into them socialist ideas

and criticize the trends toward capitalism" and continue to raise their awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once the masses master the Party's basic line and the law of class struggle, they will more consciously boycott capitalist things, more enthusiastically support socialist things and, under Party leadership, advance firmly and resolutely along the socialist road. It is impossible to ask the masses to do this and that simply by drawing a few administrative measures or even by resorting to coercion without grasping class struggle or using Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the masses. This not only will not arouse the enthusiasm of the masses but, on the contrary, will restrict and dampen it. As for certain shortcomings or mistakes among the masses or even in the case of those who are inclined toward capitalism, it is also necessary to patiently educate them and explain things to them in terms which they can easily understand, so that they may recognize and correct their mistakes. Simple and rude methods must not be adopted. We comrades doing leadership work must go deeply among the people and become one with them; and in the process of working among them, we should try to understand what they are thinking and doing, using the advanced experience created by the masses themselves to educate the masses and oneself, so that we will unite with the broad masses on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and march ahead victoriously.

Twenty years ago, amid the socialist upsurge in China's countrisde, Chairman Mao earnestly cautioned the whole Party: "Many more battles still lie ahead, and we must continue to fight hard." At present, our country is in an important period of historical development. We must remember Chairman Mao's teachings and continue the revolution without a hitch. It is necessary to stick to the Party's basic line, take class struggle as the key link, carry out thoroughly the struggle between the two roads in the countryside, and struggle for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and building a new socialist countryside!

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The Masses Are The Real Heroes

- Why has industry in Shashih grown by 3 folds since the great cultural revolution?

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

Shashih is a small city in Hupeh with a population of only 150,000. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the features of the city have undergone profound changes, and its industrial growth has been quite remarkable. The total industrial production value has increased by 3.3 fold, averaging 16 percent annually, or as much as 18 percent for every year of the 4th Five-Year Plan. Such industries as textiles, chemicals, machine-building, electronics and light industry have been established on a preliminary scale, with the range of products broadening and the quality improving year after year. Some products have reached the advanced national level in quality. Funds accumulated for the state since the great proletarian cultural revolution amount to six times the aggregate of state investments and locally raised capital during the same period.

How has industrial production in Shashih made such a stride forward? The cadres and the masses answer: the vigorous development of industry has been made possible because the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have set right the line for industrial development, enhanced people's consciousness of class and line struggles and the need to continue the revolution, further adjusted the relationship between men and brought into play the socialist initiative of the masses of workers in technical innovation and transformation. What has happened in Shashih vividly shows that "the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

The masses of workers in Shashih have a glorious revolutionary tradition and a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. But before the great proletarian cultural revolution, owing to the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, this was something that certain people just could not see. Whenever it came to developing industry, they would come up with such ideas as making use of material incentives and putting bonus in command, without which, in their view, the bringing of initiative into play would be impossible. As a result, the revolutionary will of some people was eroded, the revolutionary unity of the worker ranks was undermined, and their initiative was restricted. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers and cadres in Shashih, arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticized the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the reactionary theory of productive forces, and such revisionist trash as material incentives and putting bonus in command. During the struggle, leading cadres were also able to raise their consciousness in grasping class struggle and implementing the basic line of the Party.

With the experiences they gained from both positive and negative aspects, they have further realized how true it is that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." To run socialist enterprises properly and to accelerate industrial development, one should, first of all, implement the Party's basic line and firmly grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. When learning from Tach'ing in industry, one should learn the essentials. After raising their understanding of the matter, they conscientiously grasped the mass movement to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and setting Tach'ing as their example, organized nearly 3,000 workers philosophy groups throughout the city as well as a theoretical coaching contingent comprising 2,800 people. With the establishment of this theoretical coaching network, they persisted in arming the masses of workers with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, guiding them to resist the corrosive effects of bourgeois thought and the influence of the forces of habit of small producers, and to occupy all fronts with socialist ideology. Their revolutionary spirit aroused by theoretical study, the masses of workers raised a militant slogan: "Socialism will not come to us; let's make it a reality by our two bare hands." It was by fostering this spirit of making revolution with determination in overcoming all kinds of difficulties that the industrial production front was able to score one victory after another. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Shashih Diesel Engine Plant handed out a variety of bonuses, but still its production tasks were not fulfilled satisfactorily, and its backward outlook remained unchanged for a long time. During the great cultural revolution, the leadership corrected the ideo-political line it had been pursuing, persisted in putting politics in command and raised the socialist consciousness of the worker masses, bringing about a new look. Under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in order to support the mechanization of agriculture, they succeeded in making more than 20 pieces of specialized equipment without asking for more funds, more factory space and more workers. Battling through a quarter, they turned out a new 120 h.p. diesel engine. The facts show that to develop industry, the first and foremost thing is to grasp issues related to the struggle between the two lines and inspire the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of workers and staff members. Once the line is correct, relying on and mobilizing the masses will generate an invincible force.

The original industrial foundation in Shashih was weak and conditions were poor. Some people used to say: "A golden phoenix cannot fly out of a chicken coop." If industry were to grow, they would have to ask the state for investments, equipment and manpower. During the great cultural revolution, the broad masses and cadres repudiated not only the world outlook of cowards and lazy men, but also the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, thereby greatly fostering the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and rising in great vigor. The Shashih Quartz Glass Manufacturing Plant was formerly a small factory blowing wine bottles and lamp-shades. Its backward condition worried people, and every time it was proposed to change its outlook, people would ask for funds from the above. Consequently, for a decade or so there was not much of a change. The great cultural revolution stimulated the soaring aspirations of the worker masses to bring about a change by relying on their own efforts. They made use of an old worn-out factory building and

turned it into a workshop in which they produced, by means of innovation, transformation and digging out potentials, more than a hundred kinds of quartz glass products in urgent demand by the state, with output value increasing by an average of 46 percent annually. This example shows that the decisive factor is man, not things. The foundation and the conditions are all relative and temporary and can be changed. "In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results." So long as the line is correct and people persist in self-reliance and hard struggle, a weak foundation can be transformed into a solid one while disadvantageous conditions can be transformed into favorable ones. "Golden phoenixes" can also fly out from "chicken coops." The role played by examples is very significant. By grasping this typical case, the Shashih Municipal Party Committee organized the worker masses to visit and learn from it by setting up on-the-spot study classes. Everyone saw that "the masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism," but the key lay in whether or not the leadership was good enough at discovering the essence of such initiative. The spreading of typical experience further pushed the industrial development of the whole city. First grasp typical cases and then have the experiences gained gradually extended from points to an area, and it will be possible to move the city forward. Of the factories that have newly emerged over the past few years in Shashih, more than 80 percent were built with the spirit of self-reliance and using indigenous means, the spirit of making revolution in a shed of reeds.

What is the orientation of local industrial development? Is it the resolute implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, doing everything on the basis of the interests of the people and the requirements of the revolution, and assigning priority to supporting agriculture, or is it putting profits in command and giving more attention to more profitable things? During the course of industrial development in Shashih, there has always been the sharp struggle between the two lines. Located in the rich grain and cotton growing Chianghan Plains, Shashih depends primarily on the countryside for industrial raw materials as well as a market for its products. It is therefore only natural for Shashih to direct more of its attention to the expansion of industries supporting agriculture. However, before the great cultural revolution, due to the interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, some people engaged in one-sided pursuit of profit and output value, resulting in the slow development of products supporting agriculture. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, both cadres and the masses have repudiated putting profits in command and "the theory that supporting agriculture is getting the worst of it." In doing so, they were able to further raise their consciousness in implementing the general policy of developing the national economy by taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. Everyone realized that by serving agriculture and accelerating agricultural development, industry creates for its own development a solid foundation. Especially in the case of such a small city like Shashih, if industry did not serve agriculture, it would be impossible for industry to attain a high rate of growth. The expansion of industries supporting agriculture is not merely an economic issue, but, insofar as it benefits farm modernization, the gradual diminishing of the differences between town and country, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is in itself a political issue. Once the thought of industry supporting agriculture is made clear, the enthusiasm

to turn out products catering to the needs of agriculture is raised. For example, a rubber plant has expanded its production from merely making rubber-soled canvass shoes to tractor tires and rubber hoses for farm use, while a petrochemical plant uses resin to make emulsifiers for agriculture. Now the total value of products supporting agriculture in Shashih is 6.4 times what it was before the great cultural revolution, while the variety of products has increased from 22 to 74. Such products supporting agriculture as insecticides, chemical fertilizers, diesel engines and meters used in agrciulture, the production of which did not exist before, have developed rapidly. Not only has the growth of industries serving agriculture not hindered the development of other industries, but it has indeed brought about the vigorous advance of industry as a whole.

Prior to the great cultural revolution, due to the interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the management rules in force at that time were so restrictive and coercive that the enthusiasm and creativeness of the worker masses were suppressed. With the criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao during the great cultural revolution, the development of a new kind of socialist relationship between men has been promoted. Since the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, especially since the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Shashih Municipal Party Committee has made a further effort to study and put into practice Chairman Mao's brilliant theory that "the basic contradiction in socialist society is still that between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." Accordingly, not only are cadres urged to firmly embrace the thought of relying wholeheartedly on the working class and take the lead in promoting the restriction of bourgeois rights and criticizing ideas arising out of them, but the masses of workers are also educated to really realize that they themselves are the masters of both the state and enterprises and hence must incessantly raise their sense of responsibility. All this has greatly furthered the improvement of the relationship between men, that between the leadership and the masses in particular, and stimulated the enthusiasm of the worker masses to go all out in building socialism to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Putting proletarian politics in command, the participation of cadres in production labor and the participation of workers in management, and the three-in-one combination of the leadership, workers and technicians--all of this is an important aspect of the Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company drawn up by Chairman Mao, and also a vital factor in fostering good relations between people within an enterprise. Since the great cultural revolution, in order to have workers take part in management, the various enterprises in Shashih have set up at various levels mass management groups, old workers congresses and team-group managers and other forms of organization for workers' participation. In the city, more than 770 outstanding workers have been selected to join leading bodies at all levels. This is an important contribution of the great proletarian cultural revolution. At the same time, leading cadres at municipal and bureau level persist in practicing the "3-3 system" (one-third of them going to factories to labor, another third conducting investigations, and the remaining third taking charge of office work). They frequently go to the

basic level to take part in labor and conduct investigations. Leaders in factories persist in practicing the system of working with the shifts, substituting for workers on leave, and laboring at a fixed point. In this way, the cadres' participation in labor and the workers' participation in management are organically integrated, and a lively situation has appeared in which cadres care for the masses, who, in turn, cherish the cadres, cadres lead the masses, the masses supervise cadres, and cadres and the masses advance in unity. Many cadres are praised by the masses as "secretaries donning work uniforms" and "directors holding spanners". The workers say: When the old Eighth-Route Army entered the city in the early days of the liberation, the cadres merged with us as they visited every family and chatted with us. The revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao cut us apart by instituting a restrictive and high-handed management policy; then the great cultural revolution repudiated the revisionist line and brought cadres back to us. As we sweat together and our hearts join, the more we work the more energy we seem to have.

The great cultural revolution has also promoted extensive socialist coordination among enterprises, giving a further boost to the fostering of the communist style. In the past, because the line was incorrect, some enterprises were stained with departmentalism and were unwilling to take part in cooperation. Or, when there was cooperation, they would resort to such devious practices as "bartering." During the great cultural revolution, the Shashih Municipal Party Committee addressed itself to these problems. Taking class struggle as the key link, it led the cadres and the masses in holding a debate over whether to take the whole situation into consideration or to practice departmentalism, to consolidate and develop the socialist system of ownership or to weaken it? Such study and discussions raised everyone's enthusiasm to take part in socialist coordination. At the same time, while launching the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry, the city paid attention to overall planning and strengthening leadership. As regards technical innovation and transformation, the city had a general plan, while every factory had a long-term plan and every workshop a target. In each period there was a specific direction of attack and a priority for concentrating forces for a battle of annihilation. Inter-trade boundaries were broken, extensive coordination was organized, and difficult technical barriers were attacked and overcome. In recent years, more than 30 such coordinated battles were organized throughout the city. Since 1973, a total of more than 5,200 jobs of technical innovation and transformation have been completed, more than 640 pieces of self-made or converted specialized equipment were produced, and more than 100 kinds of newly developed products and new varieties were made available. Some factories have begun to adopt and extend such new techniques and processes as electronics, jet, digital control, high-speed grinding and cutting, multi-procedure processing, and non-toxic electroplating. The workers say: "Undertaking coordinated tasks may sometimes affect the output value and profit of our factory, and this seems to be a minus. But when the production of fraternal factories increases, it is a plus, and the creation of new productive forces by socialist cooperation means multiplication." Since the great cultural revolution, extensive socialist coordination has played an important part in the satisfactory progress of the city's technical innovation and transformation.

The great changes brought about on the industrial front in Shashih since the great proletarian cultural revolution have caused many comrades to further understand the truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that the masses are the real heroes. Meanwhile, the mass movement "In industry, learn from Tach'ing" in Shashih is developing in depth, with more than 50 enterprises becoming advanced units learning from Tach'ing. Recently, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Shashih Municipal Party Committee mobilized the masses on a wide scale to sum up the experiences gained since the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to assess oneself with the viewpoint of one dividing into two. They are determined to go on upholding the basic line of the Party, enthusiastically support new socialist things, and strive with every effort to consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Investigation Team of Hupeh
Provincial Revolutionary Committee

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Advance in Triumph along the Road of Continuing the Revolution

by

General Party branch, Lichiachai Brigade, Chünan County, Shantung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

In his report "Attempts by Tashan Agricultural Cooperative of Lichiachai, Chünan County, Shantung Province, To Gather More and More Bumper Crops," great leader Chairman Mao 18 years ago made this comment: "Lichiachai is a fine example of the foolish old man who removed the mountains and transforming China." Like a bright lamp, Chairman Mao's brilliant comment has guided us to advance continuously along the socialist road. On the eve of the 1976 New Year, we restudied Chairman Mao's comment and studied the Party's basic line. Looking back at and summing up our practical experience in struggles, we received another immense inspiration and education.

Our brigade, located to the east of I-meng Mountains, was before liberation surrounded by barren hills and turbulent rivers. The land was rocky and soil scanty, with the per-mow yield of food crops in better years amounting to only 110 catties. This was exactly the grim outlook for Lichiachai. However, things have now changed, with the outlook of the entire brigade having undergone profound changes. After the mountainous region has been closed for afforestation, altogether 12,800 mow of desolate hills and beaches have largely been planted with greenery. Other changes include the diversion of waterways and construction of reservoirs, catchment ducts and electrically operated irrigation stations, thus making it possible for the irrigation of 90% of the land of the brigade. After the mountains have been leveled off and soil turned and leveled, 5,000 mow of arid fields have become farmland with assured high and stable yields regardless of drought and waterlogging conditions. Following the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, the collective economy has developed sturdily along with significant rises in the yield of food crops. The brigade has now more than ¥2.7 million in communal accumulation and keeps in storage over 420,000 catties of grain reserves. In addition, trucks and tractors provide the brigade with more than 2,480 horsepower of motive power for attaining mechanization and semi-mechanization. The per-mow yield of grain last year reached more than 1,240 catties and over 1.2 million catties of grain and peanuts were delivered and sold to the state.

The eight characters meaning "the foolish old removed the mountains to transform China" have produced a deep impact on our poor and lower-middle peasants and provide us with a sharp weapon for continuing the revolution along the socialist road. What we have achieved is the result of criticizing revisionism, battling against capitalism and practicing socialism under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This means carrying forward the spirit of the foolish old man in unceasingly digging the mountains until they are removed. There are no difficulties that cannot be surmounted and no adverse surroundings that cannot be transformed as long as we implement the Party's basic line and persistently take class struggle as the key.

Making revolution is like digging mountains. To transform nature and remold society, the proletariat and our laboring people must keep digging until the two mountains--natural disasters and unfriendly surroundings and imperialism, capitalism and revisionism as well as the notions of the exploiting classes--that tower over us are removed. In carrying out the three great revolutionary movements, that is, class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, we are precisely aimed at removing these two mountains. Since the two mountains must go, it is important that the relationship between the two be set right. Previously, our understanding of Chairman Mao's comment was inadequate for we one-sidedly interpreted it as meaning harnessing the mountains and rivers and transforming the conditions for production. After we were educated by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and criticized the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and heightened our awareness of the class and line struggle, we came to realize that Chairman Mao's comment was intended to bring home the message that we should grasp class struggle well, go allout in promoting socialism and forever keep to the continued revolution and transform man's thinking and transform society as a whole. Only in doing so can we effectively set about harnessing the mountains and rivers, transforming nature and contributing more significantly to mankind.

Before liberation, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism bore on us. In the face of a hostile environment under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang at that time, the laboring people could not do anything even if they wanted to. Chairman Mao led the people of the whole country to make revolution and overthrow the old China and establish the new China. Only then could we, as masters of the country, set about harnessing the mountains and rivers and transforming nature. But it is not enough to merely occupy oneself with the transformation of nature for the Party's basic line tells us: "Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are classes, class contradiction and class struggle, and there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, the danger of capitalist restoration." Since class struggle is by no means over, the overthrown classes are still around and are not reconciled to defeat, and all the time they think of restoring themselves. The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, will only be settled after a prolonged period of struggle. In our brigade, this kind of struggle has never ceased. At the stage of the preliminary producer cooperatives, our Poor Peasants' Association defeated the rival "Middle Peasants Group." During the period of the higher producer cooperatives, we weathered the evil wind whipped up by Liu Shao-ch'i, who ordered that the cooperatives be disbanded with the result that a number of rich peasants withdrew from the cooperatives. When the people's commune was introduced, we refuted Right opportunist fallacies and thus defended the gains of the Party's general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune. During the socialist education movement, we removed class aliens who had sneaked into the brigade's Party organizations. In the great cultural revolution we carried out resolute struggles against the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and against a handful of class enemies. In wave after wave of struggles we were tempered. With heightened awareness, we became more enthusiastic in making revolution. We advanced in bigger strides.

We must hold fast to class struggle and line struggle every year, every month and every day. Whenever class struggle is in our grip, the masses display greater enthusiasm for practicing socialism and then they will achieve more in farmland capital construction and in the accelerated development of production. Conversely, whenever the grip on class struggle is relaxed, the capitalist tendencies will prevail, the battle with nature hindered and the pace of production development slowed down. In the course of our advance we have encountered numerous similar experiences and lessons. Several years before we felt that with the cleaning up of the class ranks and destruction of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in the great cultural revolution, the liquidation of the revisionist line they had pursued and the repudiation of the capitalist tendencies, we could concentrate our efforts on production. It was at this juncture that things happened in our brigade. Some people moved the pigsties from their courtyards to the main street and planted trees the vacated lots.
A production team of poor peasants, a team which did not appear to us to pose any problems, got involved in some unexpected happenings. Some people there chopped the trees belonging to the collective and used the timber to build their own houses. Some production teams sold building stone obtained from an open excavation for cash, instead of turning it over for the brigade's farmland capital construction project. Another production team altered, without authorization, the brigade's prescribed planting plans, reduced the acreage of the paddyfields and unduly enlarged the plots for growing vegetables. Although these constituted isolated cases, they were manifestations of the capitalist tendencies and a reflection of class struggle. What had happened alerted us. The general Party branch led all the commune members to unfold revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and this enhanced everybody's understanding. In the movement to study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, we analyzed these things in the light of what had occurred. After studying theory, we further realized that it was not surprising for these things to happen. In socialist society there are classes, class contradiction and class struggle and there is soil for generating capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Besides, the remnants of small production still exist while the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of rich peasants will avail themselves of various opportunities to assert themselves. To practice socialism, develop agricultural production and accomplish the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level, it is essential that we consistently hold fast to the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation must be undertaken regularly and it is not enough to repudiate revisionism and capitalism a few or even dozens times. We must foster the idea of battling for a prolonged period of time.

We also have realized that in keeping to the continued revolution and carrying forward the spirit of the foolish old man of removing the mountains, it is likewise necessary to make unceasing efforts to clear all sorts of ideological obstacles and constantly unfold ideological struggles with vigor. Arrogance and complacence, for instance, means a kind of obstruction. Whoever is inclined to be "complacent" will stop making progress and be content with existing conditions. This problem is a striking one in our brigade. This is why along the road of advance we have always regarded arrogance and complacence as a "mountain" which must be dug and removed.

In the winter of 1970 when the spirit of the Northern Regions Agricultural Conference was implemented, the mass movement for learning from Tachai in agriculture was whipped up to a new upsurge. Some cadres and commune members began to display feelings of arrogance and complacence. They said, "Taking Tachai as an example, we have transformed the mountains and rivers. Grain yield has gone up from 110 catties in the past to over 800 catties, a rise that is quite all right." With this notion in mind, our general Party branch conducted open-door rectification, studied again Chairman Mao's comment and set up a "study class," before calling on them to learn from a number of advanced units which had learned from Tachai. This drive against arrogance and complacence succeeded in removing obstacles, finding the gap, arousing the revolutionary spirit and promoting revolutionary enthusiasm. We also revised the plans for farmland capital construction and as a result the amount of work accomplished in the year surpassed that of the previous five years.

Why is it that arrogance and complacence from time to time have appeared? After analyzing this development, everybody believed it was mainly due to the narrow outlook of the small producers, which often prevented people from clearly recognizing the main revolutionary goal and cherishing the same soaring aspirations as the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai. Their failure to link Lichiachai with the revolutionary undertaking as a whole likewise prevented them from continuing to advance once they have achieved some results. Take the construction of a reservoir at the foot of Putao Mountain in 1971 as example. When completed, the irrigation project would benefit a fraternal brigade more than our brigade. Some people in our brigade then thought that another brigade would gain at the expense of our brigade--"a losing proposition," so to speak. With this notion in mind, we organized everybody to restudy Chairman Mao's comment, learn from Tachai's communist work style of cherishing the country and the collective, and unfold discussions on the "goal of struggle of new foolish old men." Everybody agreed that Chairman Mao taught us to "transform China" in the way the "foolish old man who removed the mountains" did. To become "new socialist foolish old men," they realized, they must not have Lichiachai alone in mind but should strive to rebuild the whole commune, the whole county and the whole country. In continuing the revolution, they must emulate Tachai and "have all of China in mind while casting their eyes on the whole world." With their understanding enhanced, they worked much harder. It took them only 12 days to build the big dam which was originally estimated to require one month. The completion of the reservoir won the approval of all the fraternal brigades. It was named after the "new foolish old man." Once they were armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they were able to stand high and look farther. This instance once again educated us. We were determined to regard conducting education in the Party's basic line and imparting socialist ideas to the masses as the fundamental task of the general Party branch. We ran well evening schools for political study, fostered a theoretical contingent composed of the poor and lower-middle peasants and organized brigade members to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. In addition, we made use of blackboard bulletins and assorted literary and art media to unfold revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

This enabled the brigade members and the rank and file to heighten their awareness of class and line struggle and to further display their socialist enthusiasm.

In keeping to the continued revolution, relying on one generation of people will not do. The legendary foolish old man kept on digging until the mountains were removed and he wanted his posterity to do so all the time. In making revolution, we need generations to carry on our cause. In this sense, we must attach importance to the task of training and bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, so that generations of new foolish old men could be fostered. In the past years our general Party branch has all along tackled this task as a matter of prime importance. It has actively led and resolutely supported the revolution in education in the school, assigning socialist-minded cadres, Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants to run schools and conduct classroom instruction. It has warmly supported educated youths going to mountainous and rural areas, shown concern for the growth of young intellectuals coming to settle down in the countryside, and educated them to take up farming and build a socialist new countryside. With the young people's characteristics in mind,the general Party branch has conducted a variety of activities geared to class education, education in hard struggle and education in revolutionary ideals. We set up "education gullies" and "education farms" and asked poor old peasants to recount the history of Lichiachai's class struggle and the hardships of founding an enterprise. From time to time we would organize them to study Chairman Mao's teachings and ask old poor peasants to relate their pioneering exploits in former years with bare hands and simple tools. These accounts provided the young people with profound education. In their struggles to transform nature, they defied hardships and fatigue. In this endeavor, they brought into play the role of a shock force.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Complying with Chairman Mao's brilliant comment and guided by the Party's basic line, we displayed the spirit of the foolish old man of removing the mountains and obtained some results in the wake of successfully launching the three great revolutionary movements. However, this was but the starting point in the long journey of continuing the revolution. The poor and lower-middle peasants said rightly, "getting to the top requires constant exertions." In the new year we are determined to continue studying well the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, take class struggle as the key, deepen and broaden the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture, strive to accomplish the various fighting tasks put forward by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and keep advancing along the road of continuing the revolution.

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Grasp the Line Education, Promote the Work of Preparations Against War

by

Party Branch of "Tough Bone Sixth Company" of a Certain Unit of PLA Nanking Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

The year 1975 marked by unity in struggle has gone. Looking back to the past and forward to the future, the commanders and fighters of our entire company, with double confidence and high fighting spirit, are determined to take class struggle as the key link, deepen the education on the Party's basic line, be fully prepared against wars of aggression, bring their role into play in defending socialist revolution and construction and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, and become tough-bone men of the proletariat in name and fact.

Chairman Mao points out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In this historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance." Over the years, in compliance with Chairman Mao's great teachings, we have persistently launched activities of talking about the basic line every day and using the Party's basic line to arm the cadres and fighters of the whole company. This has effectively heightened everyone's awareness of class and line struggles. Both cadres and fighters assiduously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and criticize Water Margin, revisionism and capitulationism. The company's theoretical backbone force is growing sturdily. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, cadres and fighters unite in struggle, strengthen the preparations against war, and more satisfactorily fulfill such tasks as national defense construction, standing sentry and training. The military quality of the company has been markedly raised. Among the 22 live ammunition fire practices, distinction was achieved in 20 and credit in the other two. For the past two years, 31 categories of training equipment, numbering 1,120 pieces, were innovated. The company was awarded a collective third class order of merit. From practice we have come to see that only by persisting in the Party's basic line and taking class struggle as the key link can we continuously heighten the consciousness of both cadres and fighters in class and line struggles, promote war preparedness, and raise the combat capability of the company.

To be well prepared against wars of aggression, there are many things to be done. What should be done first and how? Should we grasp the line to promote war preparedness or grasp war preparedness for its own sake? This is a problem we often encounter in the company. If this problem is not properly solved, it will directly affect the construction of the company and the orientation of war preparedness. Chairman Mao has pointed out recently: "Class struggle is the key link, and everything else hinges on it." The army is an armed group charged with political tasks. The basic line which Chairman Mao has formulated for our Party is the lifeline of our Party

and state and of our army. Both the construction of the army and war preparedness must serve and be subordinated to this line. The fighters say rightly: "You can't hit the target without the sight, and you can't get well prepared against war without the basic line." Our company has come through the revolutionary war years. The experience left over by the older generation tells us that to fight against the enemy, the basic question is to rely on a correct line and the high awareness of cadres and fighters in fighting consciously for the revolutionary cause, the dauntless spirit of fearing neither hardships nor death. But this can only be achieved through line education and political-ideological work. In the winter of 1947, our company joined the other fractional units in carrying out a new-type consolidation movement of airing grievances and three checks in the northern Shensi base areas and this raised our political consciousness. It was only then that we were able to win battle merits in the great campaign to defend Yenan under Chairman Mao's direct command and subsequently in many campaigns to liberate the great Northwest. We were awarded the glorious title "Fighting Model Company." In 1962, in the emergency actions to stop the attempted harrassments by the US-Chiang clique of China's southeast coast, it was also due to our grasping of education on classes and class struggle that we successfully fulfilled the task of preparing against war. In 1964, we were gloriously named the "Tough Bone Sixth Company." It is only when we keep to the Party's basic line and continue to grasp education on class and line struggles that the company's work can develop and the awareness of class and line struggles on the part of cadres and fighters can be heightened. It is only then that preparations against war can be properly oriented and motivated. Only thus can we make all preparations well and play our part as men of tough bone in the struggle against restoration at home and wars of aggression abroad.

In the course of the line education, both cadres and fighters are organized to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the light of the ideological condition of the unit, so that they may fully understand the protracted nature of class struggle and embrace the the idea of constant preparedness. This is an important link in making good preparations against war. On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao had pointed out to us: "The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every hour to stage a comeback. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt. We must not relax our vigilance." Over the past 20 years and more, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration and between subversion and counter-subversion has never stopped for one moment and will continue for a long time. Why should we talk about war preparedness every day and make preparations against war every day? It is because classes and class struggle exist for a long time, and the struggle against restoration at home and wars of aggression abroad is a long-term task of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation. The word "long" determines the need for constant war preparedness. As long as class struggle exists at home and imperialism and social-imperialism exist in the world, we must not lower our guard for a single day, nor can we afford to be a bit negligent. In the past we won our victories in struggle, and to win still greater victories in the future, we must still prepare to struggle. We must firmly set up the idea that "the People's Liberation Army is always a fighting

team." As we have strengthened the education in this respect and constantly criticized the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the idea of long-term war preparedness has struck deep root in the minds of the cadres and fighters, hence the rising enthusiasm for revolution and war preparedness. In training for war preparedness, we all train strictly, make exact demands on ourselves, and persist in training on different types of complicated terrain and adverse weather. We train not only in shooting ground targets but also in shooting air-borne targets. To learn night shooting, the fighters catch fireflies, put them in bottles, and use them as targets. In grenade-throwing, they learn to throw a grenade up to a slope or against the wind or while lying down. Many old fighters insist on standing the last sentry before they retire, to show that they will not change their color and will not disarm themselves ideologically.

The Party's basic line is the summation of the law of class struggle in the socialist historical period. Only when the cadres and fighters plunge into the actual class struggle, brave the storm, see the world and study in the struggle can they better understand the Party's basic line, heighten their consciousness of class and line struggles and truly shoulder the historical mission of defending the proletarian dictatorship. In the course of carrying out the tasks of war preparedness, we often organize the cadres and fighters to go deep among the masses to carry out social investigations and to study and fight alongside the masses. When a gust of evil wind negating the great proletarian cultural revolution was stirred up in society, we joined the local masses in studying a series of statements made by Chairman Mao regarding the great proletarian cultural revolution, criticizing the criminal acts of Lin Piao in attacking the great cultural revolution and new socialist things and criticizing ideas of restoration and regression. The actual class struggle has enabled us to temper and improve ourselves, making us understand further that although the great proletarian cultural revolution has been crowned with great victories, the struggle over whether to affirm or negate this great political revolution and whether to support or oppose new socialist things will continue for a long time. We must firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line and take practical actions to defend the achievements of the great cultural revolution and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. Wherever we go for national defense construction, military training, standing sentries, field camping, or agricultural production, we used to join the masses there in studying the Party's basic line and grasping class struggle. Wherever we are, we show support for new socialist things. Over the past two years, our company has successively helped four middle schools carry out the revolution in education, and has built liaison points with five rusticated youth groups, encouraging them to dedicate themselves to revolution in the countryside. The cadres and fighters have written a total of 520 revolutionary family letters expressing support for new things. 51 of them backed up their younger brothers and sisters in going to the countryside. Practice tells us that active participation in actual class struggle can raise our capability in distinguishing right from wrong and our consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This in itself is an important aspect of the work of war preparedness. At the same time, the cadres and fighters have through practice understood class struggle much more deeply, and this gives an effective impetus to the work of war preparedness.

In the world today, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, in order to contend for world hegemony, spread

rumors about "peace" and "detente" everywhere. How should we assess correctly the present international situation? Under this situation, should we strengthen preparations against war? Through studying the Party's basic line, holding regular meetings to analyze the international situation, and drawing sketches showing changes in the situation, we guide everyone to use the viewpoint of classes and class struggle to observe and understand the situation, to understand war from its class origin, and to handle the problem of war preparedness from the viewpoint of class struggle. At present, factors for both revolution and war are growing. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are both contending and colluding with each other, and collusion is for the purpose of greater contention. Contention is absolute and prolonged and will tend to become fiercer and fiercer, finally leading to war. They are clamoring for "detente" every day, with social-imperialism doing so even more energetically. But, in fact, they are carrying out arms expansion and war preparations every day. Through study, our comrades have raised their vigilance still higher. They say: the more the two superpowers talk about "detente" the more it shows their evil intentions, and the more we should get prepared against war. The cadres and fighters, having recognized the international situation clearly, display a higher revolutionary fighting will. In preparing against war, they consciously race against the enemy for time and speed and strive to get well prepared against wars of aggression. Once, while being engaged in a national defense construction project, following Chairman Mao's great instruction on "grasp revolution, promote production, promote work and preparations against war" and with one red heart and two bare hands, we overcame a pile of difficulties and completed the task in 165 days, instead of nine months as originally estimated.

To step up war preparedness in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is necessary not only to make a success of military and political training and complete the war preparation tasks, but also to persist in learning from the masses and learn how to do mass work. A revolutionary war is a war of the masses. Without the support of the masses or the armed forces of the masses, no revolutionary war can be victorious. We frequently urge cadres and fighters in the course of executing war preparation tasks to make an effort to learn how to do propaganda among the masses, organize and arm the masses. All of us look upon the masses of people as "instructors from outside the army." We often invite old workers and poor peasants to talk to us about class struggle and invite local heroic figures to talk about their advanced experience. Moreover, by means of making social investigations and visits, we call on the local advanced units to learn from them. Learning from the masses of people has further raised the cadres' and fighters' awareness of class and line struggles, strengthened the unity between the army and the people, and promoted the company's construction and war preparedness. In the course of renovating anti-tank equipment, we humbly took the masses of people as teachers. We travelled more than 3,000 li to seek advice from over 600 persons outside the army. After repeated experiments we produced an explosion device light in weight, small in size, easy to operate and carry. The fighting skills of the company were improved remarkably. We have both learned from the masses and served them at the same time. Wherever we go we propagate the idea of people's war and help the militia in their work. While in field camping, we train with local militiamen in "three attacks" and "three defenses." In the course

of national defense construction, we train with the militiamen to be "night tigers." While participating in farm production, we train with militiamen to be "water-borne dragons." In military drill, we carry out an exercise with the militiamen for tunnel warfare. Over the years, we have helped 13 factories, production brigades and schools in the vicinity of our garrison area establish and improve militia organization, propagate the great idea of people's war and make a success of militia training.

To grasp line education and promote war preparedness, it is necessary to attach importance to the struggle against bourgeois corruption in the ideological sphere. Chairman Mao stated long ago: "There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organizations in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle." To purify and consolidate our own fighting contingent both ideologically and organizationally, we persevere in unfolding anti-corrosion struggle. In this respect, we grasp mainly the following points: First, study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and heighten our consciousness in combating and preventing revisionism. Second, use short commentaries as a weapon to help cadres and fighters distinguish right from wrong, keep a sober head and adhere to a firm and correct political orientation. Third, make criticism and self-criticism, do ideological and political work meticulously and well, and guide all erroneous ideas to the correct orbit. Fourth, carry out revolutionary cultural activities and occupy the position with Mao Tsetung Thought. Owing to our persistence in carrying out work in this respect, the cadres and fighters have raised their awareness of the need to continue the revolution, and the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death has further been promoted. At one anti-tank drill in 1975, everyone, braving the cold and snow, insisted on completing it even though their hands and feet were biten by the cold. During swimming training in August, many fighters who were born in north China and who were poor in swimming nevertheless practiced arduously for more than 10 hours every day. Many had blisters on their backs or their bellies scratched, or drank a lot of water. But all refused to give up. After seven days of hard effort, 96 out of 104 participants in the training achieved a record exceeding 3,000 meters and swam across the Ch'ient'ang River.

Our country is now in an important period of historical development. We are determined to thoroughly implement the Party's basic line, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, and, guided by Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony," carry out the work of war preparedness more successfully. We will train hard and be strict with ourselves. We are ready at all times to liberate Taiwan province, China's sacred territory, to crush any aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and strive further to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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A Fine Film in Praise of the Great Cultural Revolution

- Comment on Ch'un-miao

by

Ch'u Lan (初瀾)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Jan. 1, 1976)

Dawn is breaking in that part of rural China south of the Yangtze River as the lake glistens with the rays of the rising sun. After attending to the patients throughout the night, T'ien Ch'un-miao carries a basketful of freshly picked herbs, her bare feet still covered with mud and drops of water. "Leaving footprints in thousands of homes, the sweet smell of medicine mingles with the aroma of earth"--the singing of this song pours forth the unbounded affection the poor and lower-middle peasants have for their own doctors. Through the portrayal of Ch'un-miao's artistic image, the film Ch'un-miao traces her "sturdy growth in the thick of the storm" and the series of struggle she has gone through to unfold how the barefoot doctor, a socialist new thing, matures in the class and line struggle. The film not only extols this new thing with undiminished revolutionary sentiment but depicts and praises, for the first time in a feature film, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by great leader Chairman Mao.

In the old China the three big mountains that bore on the Chinese people resulted in the acute scarcity of medical care and medicine in the broad countryside. In the film Ch'un-miao's father does not even have a bowl of medicine before he passes away. In the eyes of the landowners and lords, the barefoot peasants "are poor since their birth and they are worthless as weeds after their death." After liberation the poor and lower-middle peasants have become the masters of the country and their living conditions have improved considerably. However, because medical and health work suffered from Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on public health, the lack of medical care and medicine in the rural areas left over from the old society has remained largely unchanged. In the film the health clinic of Chaoyang Commune is under the manipulation of Tu Wen-chieh, a capitalist-roader, and Chien Chi-jen, an old-fashioned doctor, with Chia Yu-hsien, a charlatan, operating in Hupin Brigade practicing deceit on his patients for money. Their misdeeds do not merely involve a few persons but exemplify the dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes over the poor and lower-middle peasants in the realm of medical care and public health. The film at the very outset bluntly brings out the contradictions following Hsiao-mei's death and condemns the evils of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on public health. Chien Chi-jen's indifference to the dying girl so angers Ch'un-miao that she says: "This thing must be stopped!" This outburst speaks for millions upon millions of poor and lower-middle peasants.

At this juncture, Chairman Mao's great call "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas" is relayed to the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants who, the film movingly depicts, eagerly respond to Chairman Mao's brilliant ideas as they long to have their own doctor. Inspired by Chairman Mao's great call and recommended by the poor

and lower-middle peasants, muddy-legged and barefoot Ch'un-miao is in the health clinic to study medicine. This shows that the appearance of barefoot doctors, a new thing, meets the people's needs and is inevitable in history, a product of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on health work.

However, "the growth of any new thing is always beset with hardships and twists and turns." Prior to the great cultural revolution, it is rather difficult for Ch'un-miao to carry the medicine chest and injection needles for the poor and lower-middle peasants. Not only does she try to break down centuries-old traditional concepts and overcome difficulties in culture, she also has to weather blows and obstructions in the area of medical care and public health, a realm in which the bourgeoisie and its agents within the Party still have the upper hand. For barefoot persons to become doctors, this is something unheard of since ancient times, an event of prime importance. This socialist new thing is something new because it embraces a completely new direction. Carrying the hoes and holding injection needles, the barefoot people serve as both peasants and doctors, operating in the broad countryside to occupy the positions of medical and health work. Out of the political instinct of the exploiting classes, Chien Chi-jen at the very outset is aware of the humble beginnings of these "muddy-legged" people for "once T'ien Ch'un-miao is in the ascendant, what lies underneath our feet will be taken over by others." It is true that the process of the new replacing the old is a law of struggle. In this sense, the birth of any new thing implies that it will overthrow and replace the old thing. Since the bourgeoisie will not of itself bow out of the medical and health field, they are bound to hit back in a frenzy and carry out disruptive activities. But people like Chien Chi-jen do not understand and will not realize that the harder they strike blows at Ch'un-miao, the firmer she will set her mind on the study of medicine. "I will study no matter how difficult it is, for the poor and lower-middle peasants are waiting." These words, simply put, indicate that Ch'un-miao, armed with Chairman Mao's brilliant thought, is endowed with formidable spiritual strength. It exemplifies that once the barefoot doctors appear, this new thing will bravely surge forth and sweep away all obstructions.

"The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" personally drawn up by Chairman Mao points out: "The focal point of this movement is to purge those power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road." The film takes the struggle between Ch'un-miao and Tu Wen-chieh, that is, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the capitalist-roaders, as the main thread of the contradictions developing in the drama in affirming and extolling the great cultural revolution. This is to grasp the main point. On the other hand, in coming to recognize the nature and meaning of this round of struggle, Ch'un-miao goes through a process marked by gradual intensification. This process is intimately evocative to those revolutionary comrades who were tempered and educated in this round of struggle, apart form helping us deepen our understanding of the great cultural revolution. At first Ch'un-miao thinks that Hsiao-mei's death is mainly caused by Chien Chi-jen's negligence and poor treatment. However, when Chien delivers medicine through the back door to Chia Yu-hsien, he has

Tu's "approval." Chien also says that Chia the charlatan has some "skill" and that his practice "conforms to county regulations." This provides Ch'un-miao with food for thought. Though she is the daughter of a poor peasant, simple and honest, she cherishes deep class feelings for the Party and socialism. In her eyes, Party members and leading cadres are all trustworthy. However, she gradually finds out that in the mind of Tu Wen-chieh, a Party member and leading cadre, neither the Party nor the poor and lower-middle peasants exist. After Chairman Mao's directives are transmitted to the lower levels, Tu just ignores them. The commune's Party committee assigns Ch'un-miao to study medicine, yet Tu disapproves of the move. It is true that as teachers by negative example, Chien and Chia are not enough. Only by placing Tu as the opposite can Ch'un-miao's awareness of class and line struggle rise to a new plane.

Chien Chi-jen will not let Ch'un-miao hold the needle and reviles her as something comparable to "a crude porcelain bowl that defies fine carving." Tu Wen-chieh echoes Chien by saying something like "holding the needle and carrying the hoe after all are two different things." How can a Party member ever say such a thing? Ch'un-miao's hands are no different from those of her forbears--the poor and lower-middle peasants who in the preceding generations used their own hands to remove the three big mountains and battle with nature. Why can't these hands hold the needles? In the sense that the hands that carry the hoes are not allowed to hold the needles, then it is not just Ch'un-miao that is discriminated against. It is a case of discriminating against the vast numbers of laboring people who have close kinship with Ch'un-miao. It has occurred that where the landlord and bourgeois classes are in the accendant, the proletariat and the laboring people are out. This is also true if the position is reversed. This is so politically as in the realm of culture and public health. It dawns on Ch'un-miao that the obstructions to her pursuit of medicine come from Tu Wen-chieh, who backs Chien Chi-jen. "They are definitely against barefoot persons like us becoming doctors." As long as the health clinic is in their hands, there is no likelihood that it will serve the poor and lower-middle peasants. In other words, the health clinic is no place for barefoot persons to study medicine. By then, Ch'un-miao has forged ahead in ideology.

Since Tu Wen-chieh and Chien Chi-jen will not let barefoot persons study medicine, Ch'un-miao has to go back to the production team. With the backing of the brigade's Party branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and the help of Fang Ming, a revolutionary intellectual, she runs a health room. Tu regards this facility as a rival outfit and uses his authority to get rid of the setup. Thereupon, in the brigade's health room Ch'un-miao and Tu unfold a close battle, with one insisting on serving the poor and lower-middle peasants and the other prohibiting others to make revolution. In their confrontation one is open-minded and firm and the other is outwardly aggressive but inwardly weak--using force and persuasion to have his way. At any time there are people who look askance at the new things. But Tu has gone farther. He thinks he is "justified" in not carrying out Chairman Mao's directives and in suppressing the poor and lower-middle peasants. Ch'un-miao's wholehearted devotion to treating the sickness of the poor and lower-middle peasants, in his view,

constitutes an "illegal practice"--with her Party membership posing a problem! When Tu disqualifies Ch'un-miao from "writing out prescriptions," he in effect deprives the poor and lower-middle peasants of the right to keep hold of the medical and health work under the leadership of the Party.

In this battle without the use of swords or guns, the violent conflicts between the two sides are equally soul-stirring. After Tu has seized Ch'un-miao's medicine chest, the film presents this moving sequence: Carrying a lantern and a medicine basket, Ch'un-miao meets Hsiao Lung on the way. The child asks her about the medicine chest. Without answering outright, she holds the child's hand with tears in her eyes and says she will tell him the "story of Uncle Norman Bethune." This scene is quite simple but it conveys rich sentiment through Ch'un-miao's simply stated words and is thus artistically evocative of her suppressed feelings. Before revisionist pressures, Ch'un-miao gives no thought to personal gain or loss. Instead, she uses Chairman Mao's teachings and Norman Bethune's shining example to inspire her revolutionary fighting will. This exactly exemplifies her noble spiritual outlook. To play up this point, the film then shows Ch'un-miao approaching Shui Chang-po to give help. The elderly woman and Sister Ah Fang are making sandals and fixing up the soles. They look at Ch'un-miao wanting to say something but stop doing so. In the silence Hsiao Lung passes a box of matches to Ch'un-miao. She strikes a match. The flickering fire lights up her firm-looking face and reveals her burning desire for the revolution. She hopefully looks forward to a revolutionary storm that will sweep away all the filth of capitalism and revisionism. Obviously, the struggle between Ch'un-miao and Tu Wen-chieh is a reflection on the health front of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Then, to resolve this contradiction once and for all, a major political revolution for combating and preventing revisionism must be launched under the leadership of the Party. Through the mass movement from the bottom to the top and by relying directly on the vast numbers of revolutionary people, it is then possible to criticize and repudiate those power-holders taking the capitalist road and recapture part of the powers held by them and put it in the hands of the proletariat. The merit of the film lies in its vivid depiction of the barefoot doctor, a socialist new thing, in the light of the conflict between Ch'un-miao and Tu Wen-chieh, an episode which provides the main thread. If this new thing bypasses the struggle of the great cultural revolution, it would be nipped in the bud by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. This reveals that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely.

The revolutionary storm finally comes. In the forefront of the battle, Ch'un-miao bravely unites the vast numbers of the revolutionary masses in fighting a decisive battle against Tu Wen-chieh and Chien Chi-jen. The film gives no portrayal of Ch'un-miao's victory in the fight, but brings out her revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and knowing how to struggle in accordance with the law of revolutionary development and after going through twists and turns in the fierce struggle. When Tu suppresses the mass movement and takes advantage of Shui Chang-po's illness to "make an issue out of the affair" and attaches the "anti-Party" label on Ch'un-miao and Fang Ming, Ch'un-miao is again put to a new and acid test. In Tu's view, whoever

opposes him is opposed to the Party. But Ch'un-miao gives him a fine rebuttal. She asks, "If you do this way can you represent the Party?" The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was naturally led by the Party, that is, by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and by the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The film demonstrates in a clear-cut manner how Ch'un-miao studies the "16 Articles" and uses them to guide her revolutionary actions. It is exactly under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that she is able to mature rapidly. Chairman Mao's brilliant idea concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution guides her to see the essence from the appearance in the acute and complex struggle. She "begins to understand that Tu Wen-chieh, a Party member in name, has in reality become the agent within the Party of people like Chien Chi-jen, people who from top to bottom represent a black revisionist line." Going through struggle also enables her to understand that the reason why people like Tu were able to issue notices, promote economism and suppress the revolutionaries at the start of the great cultural revolution is that they still held powers in their hands. Failing to seize the powers held in their hands means that the dictatorship of the proletariat can in no way be consolidated and then the great cultural revolution on the health front cannot be carried to its completion. This understanding signifies an advance in her political thinking, the maturing of a conscious fighter in combat in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was one marked by acute, complex and devious struggles. However, the greater the acid test in struggle, the more Ch'un-miao is put to the test and the more penetratingly she is educated. At the crucial juncture of the struggle, old poor peasant Shui Chang-po gives her considerable moral encouragement and support. He says rightly, "The tide ebbs and flows so you should meet the situation." This is simply stated and thought-provoking revolutionary philosophy. Revolutionary struggle always follows an undulating movement and like the waves it sometimes rises and sometimes subsides. This requires us to watch for periods when the tide ebbs and when it flows, meaning that the future is bright when the tide flows, but without losing sight of the tortuous road ahead and the protracted struggle and bearing constantly in mind the need to remain sober-headed and unflagging in fighting will. The film takes hold of the undulating pattern of the struggle to bring out Ch'un-miao's militant character and the course of growth of the new thing that she represents, a course marked by hardships and twists and turns. The film brings home the message that only through the struggle of the great cultural revolution can her hands hold the needle well and only then can she be successful in obtaining the right for the poor and lower-middle peasants to study medicine and become practicing doctors. The final shot in the film is reserved for a scene brimming with revolutionary sentiment, a scene which shows Ch'un-miao holding a bowl of medicinal herbs and delivering it to Shui Chang-po with these words: "Drink this bowl of medicine, it is restored by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" This moving scene shows that only Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can send the god of plague away for it is the lifeblood of the proletariat and the vast numbers of the masses of the people.

The film portrays Ch'un-miao and other characters with this in mind: distinguish right from wrong and evaluate characters from the line. This approach to characterizing different people in terms of the line is nowhere more explicitly exemplified than in this film. If the ideological and political line is in order, then people will become more vigorous and will contribute more to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. In the case of Ch'un-miao, for instance, she becomes a revolutionary trail-blazer with a high degree of political and ideological consciousness, whereas before she was just an ordinary country lass. Take Fang Ming, for another example. A student from the old-type school, he becomes a revolutionary intellectual of promise welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Conversely, if the ideological and political line is erroneous, then people will change for the worse and their perverted acts will do harm to the revolution. Take Tu Wen-chieh as an example. A former apprentice in the old society, he joins the Communist Party. Forgetting his origin, he degenerates into a capitalist-roader practicing revisionism.

A character like Tu calls for elaboration. Portraying Tu as a capitalist roader does not fit in a typical category, some people argue. The reason given is that his position is not high. We take the view that the categorization of Tu is determined not by the high or low position he holds but by which class he represents, which road he takes and which line he follows. The film characterizes Tu as a capitalist-roader on the basis of the mistakes this character has made, not on the basis of the final verdict passed by a panel of critics. Tu of course is different from Chien and the film makes no attempt to confuse them as of the same category. This is exemplified in Ch'un-miao's attitude toward the two persons. Her attitude toward Chien, a pious son of the landlord class, is cold and brusque. She is ruthless in unmasking him as a reactionary. But in dealing with Tu, she tries to transform him through struggle and for the sake of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." She knows that despite the serious mistakes Tu has made by carrying out a revisionist line on health work, after all he is a member of our revolutionary ranks. Therefore, she is critical of his mistakes with feelings of anger and grief, because he has slid into the revisionist quagmire and done those things that have pained those who are close to him and pleased those who are hostile to him. She feels grieved because he has let the Party and the people down by falling short of their expectations of him and surrendered to the bourgeoisie to become their agent. Her struggle against him is therefore aimed at his return to the fold of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line by repenting and correcting his past mistakes. The film strives to express what it has in mind from this angle, though it is less convincing in presenting Tu as a capitalist-roader without giving potent reasons for this transformation. Despite these omissions, Tu is a typical character. The story depicted in the film ended at the initial stages of the great cultural revolution. If at this juncture Tu went through a rapid transformation the result would be even less convincing. But the audience believes that after the education of the great cultural revolution, even an errant person like Tu could change and work once again for the Party and the people, provided he would spare no effort to sum up experience and draw lessons from past mistakes and if he would correctly approach the great cultural revolution, the masses and himself. If he refused to mend his ways, then that would be another thing.

Singing the praises of the socialist new things and striving to reflect and extol the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a glorious mission entrusted to our revolutionary literary and art workers by the Party and the people. This new subject in creative writing calls for unceasing efforts to gather experience in practice. Due to inexperience, the film Ch'un-miao is inadequate in the artistic handling of the subject. But it is still a fresh blossom among current feature films. The showing of this film has been welcomed and ardently supported by the vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers. It is immensely inspiring to us in our current endeavor to take class struggle as the key, firmly adhere to the Party's basic line, and defend, consolidate and develop the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We believe that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and with the deepening of the revolution in literature and art, more and better works that reflect and extol the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will appear.

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